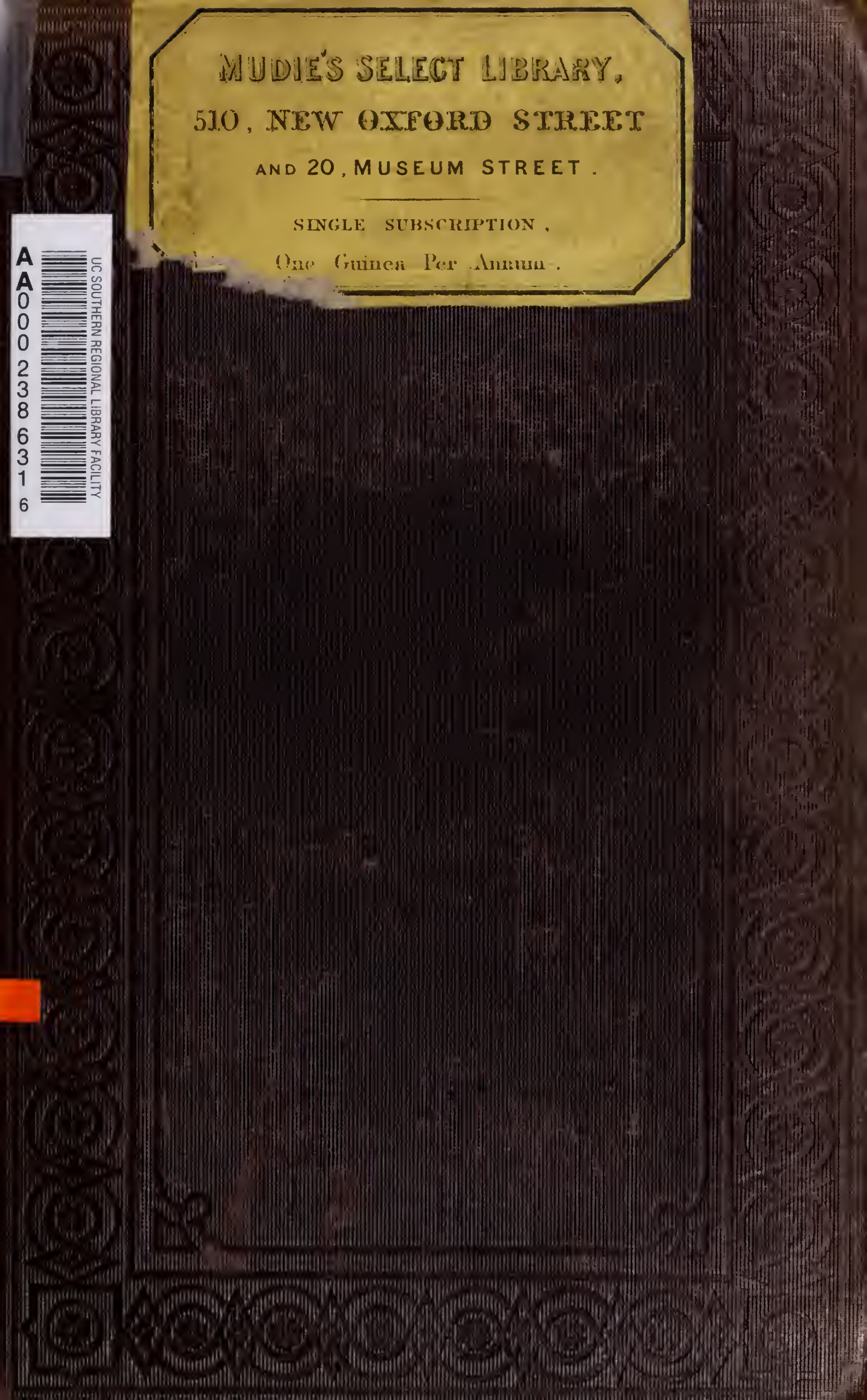

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MEMOIRS

OF

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM

AND

HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

MEMOIRS

OF

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM

AND

HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

WITH ORIGINAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS
NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.

BY
GEORGE THOMAS, EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

CHAPTER I.

LETTERS FROM LORDS ROCKINGHAM AND HARDWICKE.—ANNOUNCEMENT OF CHANGE OF MINISTRY. — PITT CREATED EARL OF CHATHAM. — LETTER FROM LORD WINCHILSEA. — ADDRESSES TO LORD ROCKINGHAM.—LETTERS FROM SIR CHARLES SAUNDERS.—LORD ALBEMARLE. — WALPOLE'S MISREPRESENTATIONS OF LORD ALBEMARLE. — DISMISSAL OF LORD SCARBOROUGH. — CORRESPONDENCE OF THE DUKE OF PORTLAND, LORDS MONSON, BESBOROUGH. — ADMIRALS SAUNDERS AND KEPPEL RESIGN THEIR APPOINTMENTS. — LETTERS FROM SIR GEORGE SAVILE, LORD HARDWICKE, AND GEORGE THE THIRD, ON THE REDUCTION OF THE LAND TAX.

It was not till the 2nd of August that the Chatham Administration was notified in the Gazette. On the 17th of July, Lord Rockingham wrote to the Honourable Charles Yorke as follows:—

"Dear Sir,

We still know nothing for certain. A well vouched intelligence makes us imagine that Lord Temple is to be at the head of the treasury.

This is not at all pleasing to our friends in general, and probably will be decisive. I have not had opportunity of conversing with General Conway since the Duke of Grafton came to town. The Duke of Grafton has not yet seen Mr. Pitt, but I hear, sees him to-night.

If I cannot see you to-night, I would wish you would appoint an hour that you would come here to-morrow morning. At ten, eleven, or twelve, will equally suit me, if I know it to-night. We go on in the closet with good humour, and not a word of politics, arrangements, &c. I am, dear Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ROCKINGHAM."

Lord Temple dined with Mr. Pitt on the 16th of July, and afterwards went out in the carriage with him. According to Walpole "such high words passed, that the coachman overheard their warmth;" but Mr. Pitt declares to Lady Chatham, on the 17th of July, that "he must do justice to the kind and affectionate behaviour which Lord Temple held throughout the whole of their long talk; words," said Mr. Pitt, "would not paint it, were it fit for me to write long." The following day Lord Temple had an audience of the King, "made extravagant demands, which were peremptorily refused, and he immediately went out of town." A few days later he wrote to his sister, Lady Chatham, that he "would not go in like a child to go out like a fool."* Thus commenced the famous quarrel between Pitt and Temple, which lasted upwards of two years.

---

* Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 469.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE HONOURABLE CHARLES YORKE.

"Dear Brother, Wrest, *July the* 31*st*, 1766.

I am not surprised that in such vile weather, and the hurry you live in, you should spare yourself the trouble of a useless journey. If things are not *substantially altered*, allow me to say that you should *speak out in* the proper place. *Il n'y a rien à marchander.* We shall expect the pleasure of seeing you in the course of next week; but give us notice if you can the day before. Let us heartily pray for better times in the natural world, and endeavour to make them in the political. *Non si malè nunc, ac olim sic erit.* This is by no means the last *remuement de ménage*, which in all probability you and I shall live to see.

Yours sincerely,

H.

P.S. You do not mention your day of resignation, by which, I suppose, it was not fixed. Lord E(gmont) is, I presume, not *retained.* Let me suggest whether, after your resignation, a proper paragraph should not be sent to the papers to prevent mistakes and *impertinencies.* Did you observe the affectation of notifying the principal changes in the *Chronicle* in a larger character, and with the puff of a *quack bill.*"

This postscript was called forth by the following announcement, in larger type than usual, in the *St. James's Chronicle* of the 29th of July.

"It is now past all doubt that this is the happy eve of great and important changes, and that our most gracious and benevolent Sovereign, the best of kings! intends to commit the great seal of England into the hands of that firm and upright magistrate, Lord Camden, which cannot fail of giving joy to all Englishmen. The Earl of Northington will be Lord President of the Council; the Duke of Grafton First Lord of the Treasury; Lord Shelburne, Secretary of State for the Northern Department.

"And that his Majesty from his innate goodness, and tender concern for preserving the life of the Right Honourable William Pitt, whose health will not allow his attending the duty of the House of Commons, and who on all occasions having manifested his true love to his King and country, will create that able statesman Earl of Chatham, and who is to have the Privy Seal."

Another paragraph announces "The Honourable Mr. Yorke to be Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas."

For the first fortnight after Mr. Pitt had received the King's commands to form a new Government he had haughtily kept aloof from the leading members of the old Administration. At last he was prevailed upon by General Conway to call upon the retiring Minister, was admitted into the House, but Lord Rockingham, unaware of the motive of the visit, sent a servant to desire he might be excused from receiving Mr. Pitt, and the same evening wrote to him as follows :—

(July 25th), 1766.

"Lord Rockingham presents his compliments to Mr. Pitt, and having seen General Conway at Court after Mr. Pitt called upon Lord Rockingham, he finds that there has been a misunderstanding in regard to some conversations which had passed between Lord Rockingham and General Conway, and some friends and General Conway. Lord Rockingham now imagines that Mr. Pitt's visit might be occasioned by that misunderstanding, as it might appear to Mr. Pitt that Lord Rockingham wished a communication which never was his intention after what has already passed.

The communication of Mr. Pitt's intentions were wished to be made authoritatively by the Duke of Grafton and Mr. Conway to the friends of the expiring Administration, and it was to avoid being in any degree committed that Lord Rockingham declined seeing Mr. Pitt.

Lord Rockingham now writes to Mr. Pitt that Mr. Pitt may not form the idea, that Lord Rockingham would have first suggested that he wished to see Mr. Pitt, in order to occasion him the trouble of a visit, and then to have petulantly refused to see him."

The next day, Lord Rockingham wrote to General Conway:—

"I am not sure whether I marked sufficiently my feelings upon the communication last night from Mr. Pitt of his intentions of coming to me.

The more I think of it the more surprise, &c. (I won't say another word) rises in my mind that after his manner towards myself, and to many others, whom I respect; that after his total want of attention or civility to many considerable friends of ours, and of positive assurances of his good intentions towards our friends in general, that after all this he should propose an interview, I really think that I should be wanting to myself, and others, to have any personal communication with Mr. Pitt. However calm my conduct may be in the present times, I beg and desire it may be understood and known to proceed in great measure from the regard I bear to you and the Duke of Grafton; and if at any time I appear or am warm, I desire it may be attributed to the strong persuasion that I am in, that Mr. Pitt's intentions and conduct are and will be the most hostile to our friends."

---

* Chatham Correspondence, vol. ii. pp. 468–9.

Four days subsequent to the last letter, Mr. Pitt was appointed Privy Seal, and created Earl of Chatham. "That fatal title," says Walpole, "blasted all the affection which his country had borne him." The citizens of London had intended to celebrate his accession to office by an illumination, but they no sooner heard of his new dignity than the lamps were countermanded.

THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA * TO LORD ROCKINGHAM.

"MY LORD, *Aug.* 3, 1766.

I am much obliged to your Lordship and Lady Rockingham for your very obliging offer of Parson's

---

* Daniel Finch Hatton, seventh Earl of Winchilsea and third Earl

Green. But it would in no respect answer any purpose of mine. If country air was necessary for my health I have nothing to do but to carry my family down to Eastwell at once, and ride about Eastwell Park. I think my health is good enough to carry me beyond the duration of the present Ministry. I ride about London to Sutton Court, to Ken Wood, and many other places. On Friday I was early at Ken Wood, and had much discourse before dinner with Lord Mansfield. He is not at all pleased with the present times, no more than he was with the last, and is firmly of opinion that it cannot last. Your Lordship knows his partiality leads him to favour the lowest of all the politicians that is in any of the various factions. He does not know whether a large and more open connection with Lord *Bute's* party would do the business or not. But he does not think that there is capacity, genius, or spirit enough *there* to venture upon such an undertaking. As I went to Ken Wood I met the Earl of Bristol in one postchaise, and

of Nottingham, Knight of the Garter. His sister, Lady Mary, was Lord Rockingham's mother. His Lordship had been Member of one or the other Houses of Parliament since the reign of Queen Anne. During his father's lifetime he represented the county of Rutland. He was a Groom of the Bedchamber to George the First, one of the "Lords Justices," and First Lord of the Admiralty to George the Second, and President of the Council under George the Third. Winchilsea, though of Tory descent, was throughout his long and honourable career a consistent Whig. His character, like that of Savile, was unassailed by faction. Walpole says, that "Lord Winchilsea, who had been at the head of the Admiralty Board, was the only man who had raised his character by his conduct at that Board, when the rest of his friends had sunk theirs." He died in 1769.

Augustus Henry in another, coming from Lord Chatham; and I suppose it was then, last Friday, that it was fixed for Lord Bristol to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Earl of Hertford to be Master of the Horse.

Stewart Mackenzie and Sir Charles Saunders kissed hands on Wednesday. It is said that Mackenzie is for life. Whether that is legal or can be done was a doubt at Ken Wood. My nephew Denbigh* dined with me on Wednesday: as he is very prying, he is very communicative of his political notions, and he thinks that the Earl of Northumberland must be taken notice of, and provided for soon, though not immediately in a post of business, perhaps the Duke of Portland's staff may do for the present. I shall certainly concur with your Lordship's notion of keeping up a civil correspondence with the remnant of the last Administration, who continue in employments, if you can keep your young politicians in the same way of thinking. Such an old fellow as I am can sleep on quietly for the remainder of my time, wishing but not seeing any prospect of success for the good of the public in the short time that I can have any reason to expect to live and remain amongst you. With this view I have left my name with the Duke of Grafton, Mr. Conway, and Lord Hertford upon his being put out of Ireland to travel about the streets of London in a royal coach. I have called at Saunders's, but not found him at home, nor met him abroad.

I have seen Lord Egmont, who I was confident would quit upon Lord Chatham's coming in, and he told me that he had explained himself in that manner to the King that his constant desire would be to serve his Majesty. But that all his writings and speeches in Parliament and out of Parliament were so contrarient to Lord Chatham's system, both as to domestic politics, and also to his system for foreign affairs, that it was impossible for him to continue in business, nor with any honour give up his own notions, and adopt Lord Chatham's sentiments. I think the delusion he labours under is that he flatters himself that he has some share in the King's good opinion of him and friendship for him. I own, for my part, I have a great opinion of his Majesty's great impartiality to all his dutiful and loyal subjects who have been in his service, are in his service, or shall happen to come into his service . . . . .

---

* Lord Winchilsea married in 1729, Lady Frances Fielding, aunt to Lord Denbigh.

I am glad to find that your Lordship thinks yourself tolerably well, and if being perfectly quiet is the necessary remedy to make you quite well I am afraid the world and your best friends won't allow you to get at that remedy for many years yet to come.

I am, my dear Lord,
With the greatest regard and truth,
Your Lordship's most obedient, most faithful, and
Affectionate humble servant,
WINCHILSEA."

Leaving his successful rival in the full enjoyment of his new dignities, Lord Rockingham retired to his seat in Yorkshire. Before he set out, a deputation from the

London merchants connected with the North American trade waited upon him with an address, in which they beg leave at a juncture when (his Lordship being no longer in a public station, they are exempt even from the suspicion of flattery) to express their sense of the essential benefits received during his Administration, a period short, indeed, but truly memorable for the noblest exertions of a patriot Ministry in favour of the civil and commercial interests of these kingdoms. On his entry into York he was attended by nearly two hundred gentlemen; and next day an address was presented to him by the magistrates and merchants of Leeds. The example was followed by the towns of York, Halifax, Kingston, Hull, and Wakefield, all expressive of their gratitude for his Lordship's attention to the interests of these kingdoms during his short Administration.

"I was much edified," writes Lord Hardwicke to him, on the 24th of August, "by the account in the papers of your reception in Yorkshire, with the Address of the manufacturers, &c., and had before read with pleasure the handsome and well-merited compliment to your Lordship by the Committee of merchants in town upon your dismission from office. You are really beating the late Great Commoner at his own weapons, and receiving those eulogiums which his *puffs* have hitherto supposed that nobody was entitled to but himself. Neither Mr. John Yorke's resignation,* nor that most extraordinary one of his principal, the stout Earl of E(gmont) can be anything to your Lordship. The motive avowed by the latter is the incompatibility of his system of foreign affairs with Lord Chatham's; that he could submit to be overruled by a majority in Council, and hoped he was open to conviction, but could not bear to be dictated to. I think that was a handsome declaration, and a rational distinction. Lord Breadalbane is turned out of the Privy Seal of Scotland; by the date of Mr. Conway's letter, should presume it was one of the first acts of the new Ministry.

---

* Lord Hardwicke's brother, the Hon. John Yorke, had resigned his seat at the Admiralty Board.

I cannot help fancying that the term of the *agreement* between Lord Chatham and the Scotch Thane must have run in the style of recognizance. The condition of the obligation being such that 'you the said W. P., &c., shall in good and lawful money of Great Britain, &c., for the *behoof and benefit* of my dearly beloved brother,' &c.

I flatter myself that in writing this letter to your Lordship I have performed a very disinterested act, for I will lay odds with any of your Yorkshire bettors that I shall have no answer till I have the pleasure of seeing you.

P.S. I know nothing of the abdicated Attorney (the scape-goat of friends and enemies). He lies close, answering cases at Tittenhanger.

As we are to have the great *actor* in our House next Session, what do you think of moving to put up the gallery?"

"The abdicated Attorney," has reference to Lord Hardwicke's brother, Charles Yorke, who had just resigned the office of Attorney-General. His claims to the

Great Seal had been set aside by the Whigs, who were not powerful enough to displace Lord Northington, and by Lord Chatham, who wanted the appointment for Lord Camden.

Indignant as Lord Rockingham naturally felt at the treatment he had received at Lord Chatham's hands, he did not allow any personal feeling to influence his public conduct. His object was to render the incongruous materials of which the new government was composed, as efficient an instrument as it could be made for the maintenance of popular rights. As Lord Chatham professed to be actuated by the same political principles as the late Government, Lord Rockingham desired such of his followers as the new Premier did not remove to remain at their posts. Accordingly, the Duke of Portland continued Lord Chamberlain; the Earl of Besborough, one of the joint Paymasters-General; the Earl of Scarborough, Cofferer; Lord Monson, Chief Justice in Eyre; while Sir Charles Saunders, Sir William Meredith, and Admiral Keppel, remained at the Admiralty Board. With the prudence and temper for which Lord Rockingham was so remarkable, he strenuously endeavoured to soothe the feelings of those who, with himself, had been so unceremoniously dismissed.

To the Duke of Newcastle he writes on the 29th of August. "We and our friends should be quiet, and our only object should be to keep up a good-humoured correspondence with those parts of the present system who are parts of ours." But aware how unpalatable the mention of "quiet" would be to one of the Duke's temperament, he wrote by the same post to Lord Albemarle, who was then a guest at Claremont, "I have wrote to his Grace of Newcastle, warmly recommending quiet and moderation. The only thing I fear is a real disunion amongst those *with whom I had the honour to be called into Administration.* Our private, personal friendship, is the greatest security against that event; and I am sure, politically speaking, nothing can gratify Lord Chatham or Lord Bute half so much as our disunion, or in future will be a severer check upon them both, than keeping in good humour those I call ourselves."

One of Lord Rockingham's friends, Sir Charles Saunders, had a short time before these letters were written resigned the seat of one of the Junior Lords at the Admiralty Board, from a dislike to serve under the Earl of Egmont; but since his retirement that nobleman himself had retired, having the same objection to hold office under his immediate chief. "If," as his Lordship told the King, "affairs were to be debated in Council, he could submit to the majority; but as he found one man was to have more weight than six, he begged to be unemployed."

"Lord Chatham," continues Walpole, "was hurt at losing Saunders, one of his favourite and most successful admirals in the late war. Keppel, too, intimated a like desire of retiring. To prevent the one and recover the other, Lord Chatham put the Admiralty into the hands of Saunders."

"That Admiral," says Walpole, in his Memoirs of George the Second, "was a pattern of most steady bravery united with the most unaffected modesty. No man said less or deserved more. Simplicity in his manners, generosity and good-nature adorned his genuine love of his country."

ADMIRAL SIR CHAS. SAUNDERS, K.B., TO LORD ROCKINGHAM.

"My Lord, Admiralty, *Aug.* 25*th*, 1766.

Yesterday I was with the King in the Closet, when his Majesty was pleased to tell me, that upon the recommendation of Lord Chatham, he intended to place me at the head of the Admiralty, and I understand I am to kiss hands on Wednesday; as I know by long experience your Lordship's good wishes towards me, I take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you with it, being with the greatest regard and esteem,

My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient
And most humble Servant,
Chas. Saunders.

I hope Lady Rockingham is well, to whom I beg my respects."

Walpole says that Sir Charles Saunders was "instigated by Lord Albemarle" to resign his seat as Junior Lord; and then significantly adds, "Lord Albemarle had been refused the Rangership of the parks at Windsor." The following letter will show only that such a report respecting the Rangership was in circulation:—

EARL OF ALBEMARLE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

London, *August 29th*, 1766.

"I was most graciously received at the levee—great inquiries about you, Wentworth, and the York races. I afterwards went into the Closet with a Window Bill, repeated inquiries about your health, Wentworth, &c. I told his Majesty how uneasy I had felt myself for some time, hearing, and from tolerably good authority, that his Majesty was displeased with me. He seemed all astonishment, and wondered who could have told me so infamous a lie; that he had the greatest regard imaginable for me and all my family. I told him the charge was heavy; and though innocent, I could not help repeating it to his Majesty, namely, that I had proposed to him Colonel Hale's selling his regiment; that I had proposed to him the purchasing the Second Regiment of Guards, and my brother* to succeed me in my regiment of Dragoons; that I had solicited Windsor Park in preference to his own family; in short, there was nothing during the *late administration* I had not asked for, either for myself or family. He said he was greatly incensed against the authors; that he wished he knew them; that people in general were so false and mischievous, that he wondered I could be a moment uneasy about the report. I said I was now happy with so great and good an authority to contradict the lies. His Majesty was most confoundedly confused, and so I left him."

* Lieut.-General Hon. William Keppel.

Horace Walpole is generally so very correct in his intelligence, especially in what related to the Court, that I shall be excused in pointing out another error into which he has fallen respecting the writer of the foregoing letter.

"General Conway," says Walpole, "with singular forbearance declined asking for his regiment again when he was appointed Secretary of State, lest he should be taxed with rapaciousness; and yet was determined to return and adhere to the military line.

"There was another man less delicate. Lord Albemarle had been directed by the King to act as executor to his master, the late Duke of Cumberland. Ambitious, greedy, and a dexterous courtier, Lord Albemarle flattered himself that the door was now opened to him, and sought and made pretences from his trust to obtain frequent audiences of the King. He procured a grant, I think for three lives, of the lodge at Bagshot, dependent on Windsor, which he had held during the pleasure of the Duke; and under colour of resigning a pension he enjoyed on Ireland, he obtained to have it made over to a brother or sister of his in indigent circumstances, with whom he would otherwise have been burdened. But here ended the gleam of favour. Lord Bute grew jealous, and the door of the Closet was shut for ever against Lord Albemarle."*

It is quite true that the Keppel family had a grant of the lodge at Bagshot. The three lives were those of Lord Albemarle, and his brothers Augustus and William

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* Walpole's George the Third, ii. 312.

Keppel. It was made to them on the recommendation of the Duke of Cumberland, in consideration of their distinguished services at the Havannah. On the death of Lord Albemarle in October, 1772, Admiral Keppel solicited permission of the King to purchase a renewal of the grant. The letter from Lord Rochford, written by the King's commands, refused the grant "either by purchase or donation." And the object of the Admiral was not to provide for "a brother or sister in indigent circumstances," but to make over his interest in it to the King's brother the Duke of Cumberland.*

Which of the two Generals, Conway or Albemarle, behaved "with singular forbearance," and which was "ambitious or greedy?" whether the one who held a high office under statesmen, of whose conduct he disapproved, or he who forewent professional and political advancement rather than abandon his party, the grandson of one of the abovenamed officers does not feel himself called upon to decide.

Lord Chatham began now to perform one of the conditions upon which he was admitted to power, the breaking up of parties. The first victim to the new or rather to the revival of the system practised by the Court at the commencement of the reign, was Lord Rockingham's cousin, Lord Monson, Chief Justice in Eyre. In a letter of the 27th of September, the Duke of Grafton apprises him that he is "commanded to inform his Lordship that his Majesty, on account of some arrangements at this time necessary for the King's service, is desirous of having that employment which his Lordship now holds made open." The Duke then, after the usual official disclaimer of any want of regard, intimates that "if his wishes should tend to an advance in the peerage, he has every reason to think his Majesty is quite open to such an application."

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* See Keppel's Life of Lord Keppel, i. 414.

Lord Monson's reply is as follows:—

"My Lord, Burton, *Oct.* 1*st*, 1766.

I had the honour of your Grace's letter last post, in which your Grace desires to know my sentiments in regard to an advance in the peerage. On that account I take the liberty of troubling your Grace with this letter to say, that I am highly sensible of the honour intended me, but that at this time it is an honour I can by no means accept,

And am," &c.

Lord Monson, who acted in concert with his political friends, not only declined the advance in the peerage, but refused, for a time, to surrender his office. The attempt to displace him was but the forerunner of a fresh act of hostility towards the old Whigs—the dismissal of Lord Edgcumbe,* from the post of Treasurer of the Household. General Conway, the connecting link between the two parties, proposed an accommodation with Lord Chatham, who "pleaded the honour of the King engaged, and that himself had always determined to break all parties." Setting aside other considerations the step was not a very prudent one on the part of a Minister, for Lord Edgcumbe had four boroughs at his disposal, and it was within a year of the General Election. The causes which rendered this step more obnoxious to the Whigs are detailed in the letter which follows:—

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* George Edgcumbe, third Baron Edgcumbe, a Rear-Admiral, served with credit in the Seven Years' war. He had been Clerk of the Council of the Duchy of Lancaster, but resigned that office in 1762. In 1781 he was created Viscount Edgcumbe and Valletort, and in 1789, Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.

LORD ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF SCARBOROUGH.

"*Nov.* 20*th*, 1766.

The event of Lord Edgcumbe's dismission has occasioned much warmth, and, indeed, has been attended with many circumstances, which add more and more ground for the intention of our showing resentment. On Monday evening I had a message from General Conway desiring I would come to him if possible, and as soon as I could. I immediately went to him, and found him much agitated. In the first place he told me that the removal of Lord Edgcumbe was entirely without his privity. That he had been out of town for two days, and came back on that day to dinner, and was informed by his company of the dismission; that some time ago, Lord Chatham talked of removing Lord Edgcumbe, and that he thought he had then stopped it; that he felt for Lord Edgcumbe's dismission as being of one of the *corps*, and also from the particular circumstances of Lord Edgcumbe's having been recommended by the late Duke of Devonshire to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, on the visit His Royal Highness paid the Duke of Devonshire when he was ill, and setting out for Spa; that also, Lord Edgcumbe had at my desire not many months ago brought in *gratis* Mr. Conway's own nephew, Lord Beauchamp, into Parliament, and added that these he felt as private matters which affected him most.

We then renewed the conversation on the subject of your Lordship,* and also on that of Lord Monson, all which Mr. Conway agreed were matters that justified our warmth, and which we might construe very fairly as being strong overt acts from Lord Chatham; that as to himself, he felt himself in all these matters ill-treated, wished himself out,† but doubted whether he would be justified in throwing the King's affairs into confusion, which his resignation might occasion. The Duke of Newcastle, Lord Albemarle, Duke of Richmond, Lord Dartmouth, Duke of Portland, Mr. White,‡ and Lord

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* Early in October Lord Chatham had tried to induce Lord Scarborough to exchange the situation of Cofferer to the Household, for that of joint Postmaster General, "which he (Lord Scarborough) begged to decline accepting totally from family convenience." Duke of Grafton to Lord Chatham, Oct. 4th, 1766. A note in the Chatham Correspondence observes, that this passage extinguishes for ever the misrepresentation that Lord Scarborough had complained of the offensive manner in which he was applied to by Lord Chatham, (vol. iii. p. 88.) It seems, however, to have been Lord Rockingham's and General Conway's impression that Lord Scarborough had not been treated with becoming courtesy.

† Conway was much ridiculed for saying of himself, "I am a minister *malgré moi*."

‡ John White, of Tunford and Wallingwells, Member for Retford, born in 1699. "Honest old Jack White," appears to have been constantly admitted by the heads of the party to their most secret

John Cavendish, Lord Besborough, and some others and myself, met the Duke of Newcastle at Onslow's on Wednesday morning. We there gave our opinions of what was to be done; and I must mention my own first, as being so, both in rashness and warmth, and yet it prevailed; and I am more and more convinced that it was what we ought to do. My opinion was that the Duke of Portland and Lord Besborough should first apprise Mr. Conway of their *intention*, and then resign; and I think, from what I guess and know of your sentiments, you will approve and carry on the measure, and I think Lord Monson should too. My reasoning was, that we could not, in honour to our friends, suffer them to be removed one by one, without showing resentment that those in, and those already removed, and all standers by, would say in truth, that we abandoned the party to Lord Chatham's mercy, who from this, and the preceding circumstances, did not show the least favourable intention, that the corps must keep together, or, that all our struggles for the last four or five years would be thrown away in regard to the material object of being the check to Lord Bute; that Lord Chatham in no instance had meddled with any of that set, but, on the contrary, Lord Chatham had done them favours.

That it was necessary that we should show ourselves ready to resent the ill-treatment of our friends, that

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conciliabula. It was at one time Burke's intention to have dedicated his "Thoughts on the Discontents," to Mr. White. "Newcastle's people," says Walpole, "were violent, and insisted on a division, driven on by John White, an old Republican, who governed both Newcastle and Lord John Cavendish." Mr. White died unmarried in 1769.

otherwise many would attribute our conduct to being intimidated, or not feeling for them. That I considered all our friends in as holding by a very weak thread; that our expectation that they would be protected and favoured, not only from General Conway's real friendship, but also, that his weight and importance to Lord Chatham would make Lord Chatham try to keep fair with us if it was only to oblige him—that those expectations were now vanished, because we saw that Lord Chatham did not even consult him, and that he neither regarded Mr. Conway's public honour to his party, or even his private honour, in the case of a person to whom Mr. Conway had a private obligation. Little objection was made to any part of the arguments I used, and none talked facts; but it was doubted what the consequences might be, if the Duke of Portland, Lord Besborough, your Lordship, and Lord Monson resigned. It was doubted, and still remains so, whether General Conway would, or would not, and much stress was laid upon the *supposition* that he would not. It was urged, that if he did not, *many of our friends* would still stay in employments, and that then we should be divided. I did not quite assent to the supposition that *if* Mr. Conway stayed, all our friends would, but insisted that as it was only *guessing*, I might also guess that Mr. Conway *would not stay* after the resignation, and that then I believed no one thought that a single friend of ours would remain. It is impossible to ascertain what Mr. Conway will do, and he is much too delicate in honour to give an insight into his determination; as he must know, that if I was to declare he would go out, no one would doubt upon the propriety of the resignations, and that, therefore, he would feel as directing them; and that, on the other hand, Lord Chatham's conduct towards him does not give him, at present, confidence sufficient to commit himself in desiring and pressing that there should not be resignations, and therefore he acted with the greatest propriety in not declaring. Yesterday morning he came to me for a few minutes only, to say that he just came from Lord Chatham, who was *very determined.*

This morning, the Duke of Portland went to General Conway, to inform him of his intention. General Conway told his Grace of all the distress he felt, and in the end *did* desire and beg for a *delay.* The Duke of Portland allows till Monday. General Conway told him that the Duke of Grafton had been with him this morning, desiring him to press a delay, and expressing hopes of some mode of reconciliation. *How earnestly* I wish that your Lordship will come quick, and if Sir George Savile was in health, that he could be here. Things are gone so far that I think reconciliation cannot be adopted with any security to our friends on a narrow plan. If the great man feels he has gone too far, and that, though we do not know it, Conway may have told *him* what may be the consequences of the resignation of others, I then think that we may have the opportunity of bringing the great man to form an honourable, firm, and lasting plan; and that we may now render our friends in administration safe, restore or compensate Lord Edgecumbe, and perhaps put administration upon the foot which has always been my desire. I mean that it should be composed inclusive of some of our friends who have lately been removed, and in the whole upon a system of men and measures; that I may *enjoy* Yorkshire, and feel the satisfaction of thinking that I have co-operated in establishing a solid, and an able, and a *prudent* Administration."

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"MY DEAR LORD, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, *Nov.* 20*th*, (1766).

I picked up in my walks this morning, from no bad authority, that their Graces of Bedford are gone out of Town, and that the Duchess had said before she went, that matters were almost settled with Lord Chatham, and that in all probability the Duke and his friends would come up after Christmas to support this Administration. How far this intelligence agrees with your Lordship's I cannot say. At first *sight*, it does not seem probable that Lord *Chatham* would *brusquer* the Duke of Newcastle's and your Lordship's friends in the manner he does, without having a resource from another quarter. Lord Temple is likewise gone out of Town.

. . . . . .

HARDWICKE."

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE HON. CHARLES YORKE.

"DEAR BROTHER, *Nov. 22nd*, 1766.

Can you meet Lord Lyttleton at dinner in St. James's-square on Wednesday next? He has some curious anecdotes of the Bedfords, and is no better pleased with Lord Chatham than we are. Indeed that noble Lord has nobody's good word who comes in my way. If this affair of Lord Edgcumbe is not accommodated, it will make a great *fracas* in the Court. The Duke of Portland and others will resign. Conway is very *un*easy, and has perplexed himself with his refinements. Time is asked till Monday to see if any proper *compensation* can be found for Lord Edgcumbe. Lord Rockingham is much for *resignations*,—the Duke of Newcastle irresolute, and keeps out of the way. For ourselves, I wish Lord Chatham blown up. Let what will come next he has done his worst.

Yours sincerely,

H."

MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO HON. CHARLES YORKE.

Nov. 27th, 1766.

The Duke of Portland, Lord Scarborough and Lord Monson and Lord Besborough resigned to-day, fully convinced that Lord Chatham's plan and proceedings meant the destruction, or would have the consequence of breaking all our friends. Many histories I have to tell you. What will next happen I cannot ascertain; but as long as our friends act with honour and spirit, I shall even think they do right, and I am sure the step in that light was necessary.

I understand that Sir Charles Saunders and Admiral Keppel mean to resign to-morrow. This is only to yourself; as yet it is not known by many."

Of Lord Rockingham's friends, who were thus forced to resign, there were only two with whom Lord Chatham had lived on terms of intimacy. These were Keppel and Saunders. They had both been professionally employed by him in the late war, and had contributed not a little, by their conduct before the enemy, to the splendour of his glorious *quadrennium*. But he wanted their places for the Duke of Bedford's party, with whom he had tried to form an union in the autumn. In this hope, however, he was disappointed.

" The negociation with the Bedfords," writes the Duke of Newcastle on the 3rd of December, " *is over*, and, Rigby says, for ever and ever."

In a letter from Gilly Williams to George Selwyn, who was ever at the disposal of the King, he says, " Your friend, Yellow Saunders, gave up yesterday. He gave for the only reason that, at his time of life, he could not think of living without the Keppels. I think all your family are too sensible. I do not hear of one of them guilty of these childish indiscretions."

The seat vacated by Keppel at the Admiralty Board was filled by Charles Jenkinson, private secretary to Lord Bute, created afterwards Earl of Liverpool. The day after the Admiral had given in his resignation, he was superseded as Groom of the Bedchamber. The office had hitherto been considered as implying no political obligation, and had been bestowed upon him by George the Second, for his behaviour in Hawke's action off Ushant.

Keppel's successor in the Household was Colonel the Hon. William Harcourt, whose father, Earl Harcourt,* had been a determined opponent of Lord Rockingham's conciliatory policy towards America.

"I find," writes the Duke of Newcastle, "that Sir Edward Hawke† has accepted; but what both vexes and surprises me is, the Duke of Portland says Sir Piercy

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* Simon, first Earl Harcourt, a Lieut.-General in the army, and Lord Chamberlain to the Queen. He had been a Lord of the Bedchamber to George the Second, and was present with that Monarch at the battle of Dettingen. He was one of the nineteen Peers who at the breaking out of the Rebellion of 1745, was commissioned to raise a regiment in the defence of the Government. On the death of Frederick, Prince of Wales, he was appointed governor to his eldest son, afterwards George the Third. He was "minute and strict in trifles, and thinking he discharged his trust conscientiously if on no account he neglected to make the Prince turn out his toes." (Walpole). The same writer, in a letter to Mason, dated "September 18, 1777," says, "The dinner-bell had rung. Where?—at Nuneham. The Earl did not appear. After much search he was found standing on his head in a well, a dear little favourite dog on his legs, his stick and one of his gloves lying near him." Mason in reply writes, "Poor Lord Harcourt. I fear he was so good a courtier that he would not have hesitated a moment in giving a vote for scalping his brethren in America, and yet he dies in the humane act of saving a dog from drowning."

† Admiral Sir Edward Hawke succeeded Sir Charles Saunders as First Lord of the Admiralty.

Brett, who went with honest Admiral Keppel to dissuade Sir Edward Hawke from accepting, is to have one of the vacant seats in the Admiralty.* The dispossessing Keppel in this manner from his Groom of the Bedchamber's place, is the effect of Lord Chatham's rage, a most mad and injudicious act; and then there is no length his Lordship must not go, and that there is nothing he can at present do in the Closet; but the most material thing of all is, if true, the making Le Despencer one of the Post-masters, and Colonel Harcourt, I suppose Lord Harcourt's son, Groom of the Bedchamber. This, the Duke of Portland says, he has had from tolerably good hands, and, if true, shows my Lord Chatham has thrown off the mask, and publicly owns and courts my Lord Bute's friendship and support. This I always imagined he would do, and take anybody, or join with anybody to support himself, rather than be obliged to retire to Pynsants. He tried the *Bedfords*. He bid, I dare say, high for them; and when he found he could not buy them, he determined to defy the world and openly take my Lord Bute by the hand at once. What will become of all this, God only knows."

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE HON. CHARLES YORKE.

"DEAR BROTHER, *Nov. 28th*, 1766.

Previous to the meeting at Lord Rockingham's, I think it right to acquaint you, that Lord Lyttleton has given me the strongest assurances from Lord Temple and G. Grenville of their inclination to unite with us, and make *cause commune* against Lord Chatham *cum suis.* They (the Grenvilles) are *very confident* that the Duke of Bedford and his party will have nothing to do with Lord Chatham, and are off with him. Rigby has told G. Grenville so. Lord Temple's terms are high, the Treasury for himself, or his brother, *that is* the *power.* Lord Rockingham is quite *averse* to a coalition on such terms, and that his friends will never come into it, for various reasons. He has no idea what is to be done, though Lord Chatham should not be able to stand it; said nothing of himself, nor who he wished to see at the head of the Treasury. Lord Lyttleton seemed pretty confident that if Lord Chatham could not hold on, the Court would apply to their *connexion* with the Bedfords, to make up a ministry; and Lord Temple is far from proscribing Lord Bute and his friends, if I can make any judment of his plan from Lord Lyttleton's language; for my part, I do not see any way through this *chaos*, nor how it is possible to reconcile so many jarring interests. We may press Lord Rockingham more close to-night, as to *quid agendum.* Conway will not resign, but must go on with an ill will. The new Peer treats them all as Lord Peter does Jack and Martin.

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* That of Sir William Meredith, who resigned with Keppel and Saunders.

Yours, sincerely,

H."

The letter which follows affords still evidence, in addition to that already furnished, of the strong personal dislike which George the Third entertained for Mr. Grenville.

THE KING TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY.

"QUEEN'S HOUSE, *Dec. 6th*, 1766,
"LIEUTENANT GENERAL CONWAY. 45 *min. past* 7 A.M.

The debate of yesterday has ended very advantageously for Administration; the division on the motion for adjournment will undoubtedly show Mr. Grenville that he is not of the consequence he figures to himself. I am so sanguine with regard to the affair of the East India Company, that I trust Tuesday will convince the world, that whilst Administration has no object but the pursuing what may be of solid advantage to my people, that it is not in the power of any men to prevent it; indeed, my great reliance on its success in the House of Commons, is on your ability and character, and I am certain I can rely on your zeal, at all times, to carry on my affairs, as I have no one desire but what tends to the happiness of my people.

GEORGE R."*

Before Lord Rockingham went to Wentworth, for the holidays, overtures were made to him from the Grenvilles, through the medium of Lord Lyttleton.

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* Copied from the original in the British Museum.

LORD ROCKINGHAM TO THE RIGHT HON. WM. DOWDESWELL.

"*January 8th*, 1767.

"Lord Lyttleton opened very largely on the present state of politics, expressed great good will to all our friends, called us honourable, and respectable, &c., and offered to do all in his power to conciliate us and his great friends, Lord Temple and G. Grenville, whose disposition towards us he represented as most favourable. He stated that union amongst those who were not pleased with the present Administration, was the only means of a successful opposition, and that a firm union amongst us and his *friends* and our friends, would be irresistible, especially as he thought we must *all see* the necessity of some *management* towards Lord Bute, and which he thought might be practicable and safe.

He suggested, that in regard to the Treasury, he believed—if *we* had an *option* between Lord Temple and G. Grenville, it would be easily adjusted to our satisfaction.

I think I have pretty nearly stated the great outline of what he proposed. I imagine you will easily guess *my* answer to the whole, and to each part; but as I always wish to act in a manner that our friends may approve—where I can, I consult them previous, and where the time don't allow it—I think myself accountable to them in informing what I do.

In the first place, I told him that an union formed with us, on *an idea of managing Lord Bute*, was a scheme which I was sure neither myself, nor any of our great friends, would have anything to do with; that I did not doubt but that Lord Temple and G. Grenville were next oars to Administration, because I understood that their language was on a plan of *tempting* Lord Bute to quarrel with Lord Chatham.

I then answered what related to the Treasury. In regard to Lord Temple, I told him fairly and fully, that his conduct in libels and in his public *conversations* had been such, that I believed, amongst our friends, he was not a man to be talked upon, but that exclusive of that consideration, I must say truly, that the making either Lord Temple or G. Grenville First Lord of the Treasury, was in fact, making both of them the Minister. That I did not think Mr. G. Grenville *personally*, was quite in the same light as Lord Temple; but, that making Mr. Grenville *Minister* would be the most inconsistent act for us that could be thought of, and that of course we who were determined to act consistently, would never join in such a plan. That our credit had rose with the public in opposing Mr. Grenville's measures, when he was *Minister*, and that we had confirmed our credit by reversing his measures when we were in Administration.

I acknowledged that I thought the state of us and our friends, viewed through political glasses, would appear a forlorn hope, and that no immediate success could be expected; but that, on the other hand, we were not in an uncomfortable situation, because every dictate of honour and principle encouraged us to persevere in acting on the same plan which we had done for years."

I am not aware of the pamphlet to which the following remarks of Lord Rockingham apply:—

"I have read over the part of *the answer* which Mr. Burke had; I like it most exceedingly; and wish the public was in possession of it; I should hope it does not want much alteration or correction. I am not sure whether you do not commit yourself too much in regard to the *savings* by reducing the Navy establishment. I mean only, perhaps, in the *wording*, because it points out the author to be you, and it might be as well that it should in reading only appear to be a sentiment of the *writer* who might be a third person.

Your dissertation upon the Militia is a very good one. I have a little doubt, whether as the subject is a delicate one to handle, you might not rather curtail it, and soften it in some parts, so as to give less prise for warm militia men to lay hold of. Perhaps, coming from *you*, some of Lord Chatham's friends may say, *now* you see that *that great man* last year knew what danger Militia was in from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and so contrive to furnish a plausible pretence to extenuate Lord Chatham's violent conduct in that matter last year.

In regard either to what I have mentioned about the navy establishment, or relative to the militia, you will understand, I mean only as a little prudential caution in regard to your committing yourself either with the navy gentry or militia gentry. At the same time I must say that you are to the full as good a judge as I can be on the *prudential consideration*, and perhaps may be right in wishing your opinion to be known.

I am anxious for the publication, and grieve that I have been so much the occasion of the delay. I think the whole performance will do great service to us in general, and be much for your own credit."

The resentment caused by Lord Chatham's treatment of the Whigs acted injuriously upon his Government. "There are," said Northington, "four parties, Butes, Bedfords, Rockinghams, Chathams, and we (the last) are the weakest of the four."

An incident which occurred early in the Session of 1767, proved the want of strength in the Administration. Charles Townshend, Lord Chatham's Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed the usual Land Tax of four shillings in the pound, but Dowdeswell moving that it should be reduced to three shillings, carried his amendment by 206 to 118, this being the first money bill in which any Minister had been defeated since the Revolution.

SIR GEORGE SAVILE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"MY LORD,

Considering how little I can say to the purpose on the subjects of your letter, I ought, indeed, at least to have answered it sooner, for the messenger got here in very good time yesterday. But, indeed, I had little time for writing, and if I had had more I should not have been able to give my mind to business enough to answer with any consideration or opinion. Besides, my own continuing but moderately stout, not having been out of the house five times scarcely, nor on horseback once since your Lordship was here. I am, indeed, in a very uneasy state of mind, my sister having been so ill since my brother Hewett's leaving us, that we have been more than once sending for and countermanding him. The anxiety this gives one must excuse my saying a great deal on a subject I really at the best could not, perhaps, be clear in, especially here, for I hardly know what the question turns upon. It is one thing to judge on the question itself. I mean the merits of it, *viz.* whether there should be a 4*s.* or 2*s.* Land Tax, and another to say what may be a fit point of opposition in regard to time, dispositions in and out of the Houses, and many other circumstances and considerations which are and were in for a share in determining what to make points of opposition. Besides I do not know you are in opposition at all. Now, so far from being able to enter into these last, I cannot pretend to be certain about the merits. I know very well in general that a 4*s.* Land Tax is against my idea of equitable taxation in time of peace. And though I would extend the sense of the word war, and suppose it to last till a reasonable time for winding up bottoms,*

> ‘Sleep, that knits up the ravelled sleeve of care,’
> *Macbeth*, a. ii. sc. 2,

yet that time is to be limited by reason, and even if, by any neglect, the odds and ends are not settled so soon as they should be, the landed man is not again and again to be told that it is still *virtually* war, as long as the bottoms are neglected to be wound up. On the other hand, the difference between a higher and lower Land Tax is not so real to the landed man as appears, for, if he consumes all his estate, taxes on consumption (inflamed with charges of collection) may not be much better for him than a partial tax on himself *netly* raised. And after all, if the neglect has been such that the Administration is found unprepared, and *no more equitable tax be found*, and 450,000*l.* must be had for *necessary* national purposes, why it must be had. There is an end.

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* “Bottom. A ball of thread.” Halliwell's Dictionary of Provincial Words.

In this case there is no opposing the 4*s.* Care should only be taken to prevent the like again. Now, how can I tell whether this be the case? If Mr. Dowdeswell can make his point good, it may *not* be the case; and the 4*s.* may be opposed. Now as to the question of expediency I am still more at a loss, for I am no counter of noses. This sort of expediency is not to be neglected, it ought often to hinder one's trying everything that is proper, but I hope it is never to make one do anything improper. I mean that the best thing in the world had better often be left unattempted, if prudence tells one that one has not numbers to support it, but never let us drive a wrong or a dubious point, because we have numbers, and it will be a *strong point*, *a devilish stroke*, a fine topic of declamation, popular, &c. This I am tempted to say not as a medicine for your own taking, but yet for your private use, and just to think of, or just to pull out the cork when others are for *hitting them here, and hitting them there.*

I should be a little afraid a warm, ingenious, zealous friend of ours has been a little upon the slap-dash.* I believe he got credit by it, and that it was very fair, but the relation he has stood in to you, and still very *deservedly stands*, makes a great deal of negative prudence required. And I do beg you will put him in mind now and then of our wise and cold deliberation, and my *cold* hesitation in your cold room. Pray don't keep your rooms too hot.

Besides all this about the Land Tax, I shot there an *ad hominem* against you! for if the *argument was mine* last year for a 2*s*. (which seems to be an *ad hominem* against me if I should argue for a 4*s*.), on the other hand you did not admit my arguments. And can you show the difference now? Will you show the tax ready to clear the outstanding rubbish if any there is?

Pray present my best thanks to Lady Rockingham. I beg you to excuse the strange way I write in for my mind is very much perplexed.

My Lord, your Lordship's
Most obliged and obedient humble servant,
G. SAVILE.

My best compliments to Mr. Burke."

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE HON. CHARLES YORKE.

"DEAR BROTHER, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, *Feb.* 11*th*, 1767.

You conjectured rightly, that our meeting was upon a proposition of Dowdeswell's to take off a shilling in the Land Tax. He made out a tolerable Budget without it, and endeavoured to show, that a million of debt might be paid besides. He had heard that Grenville would move it, and that the country gentlemen in general would come into it. He took it for granted the Ministers themselves would reduce the Land Tax to 3*s*. next winter, and that it would be prudent in opposition to start first. We had fewer Commoners at the meeting than I expected. The best reason for trying the point is, to draw people a little together if possible; but I am not very fond of lessening the public *means* when its demands are and must be so large. I thought Lord Rockingham had mentioned the affair to you. He talked of endeavouring to see you to-morrow. I shall be ready for a meeting any evening this week except Saturday, when I must take a bit of the Opera. I am rather anxious to know Lord Besborough's anecdote, and how it explains Lord Rockingham's yearnings. I always thought the negociation with the Duke of Bedford had broke off, because his Grace expected more to be done for his dependants than Lord Chatham thought advisable, particularly he wanted the Admiralty for Lord Gower. I will keep . . . .* letter till I see you. The Duke of Richmond is vehement for bringing the Canada affair into the House of Lords. Indeed, I think if we laid our heads together, something might be made of it *in honorem* of Thomas of Tilbury.†

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* Probably the Duke of Richmond.

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* Name illegible.

† Lord Northington much dreaded his conduct on the Canada Bill becoming the subject of parliamentary discussion.

It is not known when Lord Chatham comes, and some say he goes upon crutches and is very weak. The only Commoners at our meeting were J. W. Baker, John White, Mr. Dowdeswell and Burke. The latter gave no opinion, and went away early. If what I hear of the Directors' offer is true, it seems a great one for the public, and the Ministers will be mad not to close with it. If Lord Chatham lingers on at Bath, the Court will grow very uneasy; and a small fermentation applied from opposition, will create a revulsion not favourable to his Lordship. Have you seen the account of the set of horses to be sold? It is a good and severe piece of drollery."*

"DEAR BROTHER, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, *Feb.* 24*th*, 1767.

Since I saw you yesterday at the House of Lords, it has occurred to me that it might not be improper in a *county view*, if you said a few words in support of the motion for lessening the Land Tax. I presume two Chancellors of the Exchequer laying their *savoir faire* together will be able to lay a pretty decent foundation for voting with them. My Lord was used to say, that not above half of a debate was to the *point;* if so, and digressions should arise, methinks a little *sarcasm* (or solecism in Tom Tilbury's style) on the sickly, languid state of Administration would have a good effect, and call out any latent spirit (if there be any) amongst friends. I hope Mrs. Yorke continues to mend. I cannot say I have been easy about her. Philly looked but peaking when I saw him. I should be glad to hear his cold was quite off.

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* I have seen this squib somewhere in the *St. James's Chronicle*, but cannot at the moment recover it.

I am, dear Brother, yours sincerely,

"H.

P.S. If Townshend gets well the Land Tax may come on next Friday. A little *pathos* about the middling *small* landed gentry and country clergy is not amiss *ad captandum*, and to be talked of *provincialiter*.

P.S. In an opposition view some good may arise from a division in which Grenville and Lord Rockingham's friends voted together. If you do not attend it cannot be brought about. Pray consider whether the Canada affair may not be brought on in one House or other. I think you might manage a coalition with Grenville in that, and then Dowdeswell might move it, if *in your House;* if in *ours*, the Duke of Richmond, who is forward enough. I could sound Lord Lyttleton to find out if his friends would concur in the House of Lords; without them, we are a weak line of battle to be sure."

The following letter was written by Sir George Savile to Lord Rockingham on announcing to him the result of the division.

"To speak seriously on this event (the reduction of the Land Tax), I cannot really say almost whether I am glad or sorry, for unless it opened a prospect of some set (such as one could wish) being able to come into power on a footing (such as one could wish), it is only a fine prospect over a ha, ha, which one can't get to; and I am sure if you don't stop yourselves you'll tumble down in the ditch with your eyes fixed upon the champaign galloping-ground before you. This triumph or victory, or whatever it may be, seems rather to call for extreme caution and reserve than for hot pursuit. If I could affix a comfortable word to Lord L——'s* word, *succeed*, I should argue very [differently]; but, upon my word, I can see nothing before you but cutting in again the other rubber with the trumps and strong suits still in one hand, who positively will let no one player so much as get through a game, much less have good cards or win. I am far from being politician enough to analyse or prove all I say, or guess in the detail, but I do say that it all goes exceedingly well to that tune. You know I always said, with many more, that you—the last set—were humbugged. Granting this, we have now three things which seem all to point one way. G. G., first; your set, second; and Lord C—— last (which is precedence in matter of duping), all in turn made to believe that they should be supported; nay, in the last instance, actually ostensibly supported, yet all by hook or by crook let down, either by ineffectual support, or, as the case seems now, by admitting to a show of power on such previous conditions as shall sow the seeds of dissolution in the very establishment of a Ministry. Now, if all this is the case, what very desirable event can now be brought about? Do you know anybody that will, under the same laws of the game, supply the place of the present if they *are* now beat? But I rather should incline to think as your Lordship does, that it is far from decisive. Every reason that made it good generalship to choose this question, is an argument of its not being decisive. Popular county members, country gentlemen: a near election. You tell me the 286 consisted *chiefly* of us, G(eorge) G(renvilles), Butes, c(ounty) m(embers) and Tories. Pretty well! I beg you will tell me whom it consisted of *wholly*. I do not see whom you will add, unless one or two might vote by mistake; and we, who might perhaps have voted for three shillings and sixpence, or any other queer way you will imagine. If I write somewhat diffusedly or confusedly, your Lordship will still gather that the tendency for this is to throw cold water upon you all."

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* Probably Sir George Savile meant his brother-in-law, Lord Lifford.

The effect of the Ministerial defeat upon the Royal mind is shown in the next letter.

THE KING TO THE RIGHT HON. HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY.

QUEEN'S HOUSE, *Feb. 27th*, 1767,
5 min. past 11 P.M.

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL CONWAY,

I am not less surprised than sorry that the Land Tax is to be reduced one shilling in the pound this year; those who have voted for it, can have been guided only by the incitements that too frequently direct the conduct of politicians, the shadow of popularity (for the reality must consist alone in what is of real advantage to the country) and a desire of giving trouble; as the true interest of my people is the only object I wish to promote, and as I trust my Ministers have no other view; though the fate of this day on that account is disagreeable, I doubt not on all other occasions a great majority will appear in their favour."

CHAPTER II.

AFFAIRS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.—OVERTURES FROM THE COURT TO LORD ROCKINGHAM.—LETTERS FROM LORDS ALBEMARLE, HARDWICKE, ROCKINGHAM, DARTMOUTH, AND THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.—THE BEDFORD PARTY JOIN THE GOVERNMENT.—LETTER FROM SIR WILLIAM MEREDITH.

The most important public question of the Session of 1767 related to the affairs of the East India Company. It was also that on which the greatest disunion appeared amongst Ministers. The directors and proprietors disagreeing as to the amount of dividend, brought the subject before Parliament. In the course of the inquiry the right of the Company to their territorial possessions was called into question. On this occasion, the members of the Cabinet of the two Houses of Parliament took different sides. Lord Chatham's lawyers, Camden and Northington, denied the right of the Company, on the ground that such possessions were incompatible with a trading corporation; while in the House of Commons Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, strenuously recommended an amicable arrangement with the Company.

EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

June 25, 1767.

"Pray send a messenger to that high-flying kite Charles Townshend, and let the messenger be the following passage in the Lord Chancellor's speech:—"That as to the agreement with the Company, it was no advice of his; his opinion went not with it. He never thought it right for Government to make any bargain with the Company till they were better informed as to the state of their affairs, and that he would not call it an agreement till he had the sanction of the whole legislature."

I am well convinced that if Charles Townshend can by any means be prevailed with to follow Mr. Conway's example, and to assign the true reasons for his resignation, this Administration cannot stand a month; indeed his continuing to act with them after the public disapprobation which the Ministers in the House of Lords have given to his conduct this session, will only reflect disgrace on himself, and he will find it impossible to go on without recanting every opinion he has publicly given upon the business of the East India Company, a business on which Administration plainly show they set their rest. I really think these topics urged skilfully, and whilst they are warm from the debate, may have a good effect upon him; at least I am sure the trial is worth making. I give it your Lordship as my serious opinion, and not to lose twenty-four hours without conveying the intimation to him. Roos may be frightened out of his wits by letting him know the declaration which the Lord Chancellor and our friend Lord Egmont have made upon the right that the Crown has to the territorial acquisitions. These fixtures, who belong to all administrations, will vote an estate away to-morrow with all their hearts, and not sleep the worse after it.

P.S. Fifteen is no very amazing majority, considering the pains which have been taken."

After a year's experience, the Duke of Grafton began to doubt whether the Government had really acquired that "authority, dignity and extension," which he had hoped it would have derived from the substitution of Lord Chatham for Lord Rockingham. At the close of the session his Grace tendered his resignation of First Lord of the Treasury, and the King immediately empowered him to invite Lord Rockingham to form an Administration. As a friendly intercourse had been maintained by the late Government with the Bedfords, and as both agreed upon the expediency of destroying the influence of the favourite, Lord Rockingham commissioned Lord Albemarle, as uncle to the heir of the house of Russell, to propose that the Duke of Bedford and his party should enter into Administration with him and his friends. Lord Albemarle, on the 8th of July, the day after his arrival at Woburn, writes to Lord Rockingham—"The Duke of Bedford most sincerely wishes to join with you in the great plan of removing the favourite and his friends from court. This end his

Grace thinks cannot be attained without the junction and hearty concurrence of Mr. Grenville, and asked me if you would have any objection to treat with Mr. Grenville. I ventured to say that you certainly would not, provided it was through his Grace as one of his friends. Rigby will meet you at White's at ten to-night. He is very sanguine in his wishes. The Treasury they look upon as *yours*. A little giving up in other points, and civility to George Grenville, will secure the Bedfords thoroughly, and if Grenville is unreasonable, I dare say they will not support him; but they are afraid, and with reason, that unless he is satisfied, he will join Bute, and with the support of the Court will be too strong for you all. As the Treasury is *yours*, I hope every other objection will be easily removed."

On the following day Lord Albemarle resumes: "The Duke of Bedford is exceedingly right—longs to meet again; his most sanguine wish is that the Earl of Bute may show enough of his head to lose it. Lord Gower* stays here till Thursday; has owned to frequent conversations with the Duke of Grafton—openings but no proposals—his Grace always varying, sometimes giving all up, at others saying that they shall go on very well."

At the early stage of these proceedings, the Duke of Grafton had proposed that a Government should be formed with the "remains of the present Administration."

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* Granville, second Earl Gower, a follower of the Duke of Bedford, who had married his sister. Lord Gower, who was a Knight of the Garter, filled successively the offices of Lord Privy Seal, Lord Chamberlain, Lord President of the Council. In 1786 he was created Marquis of Stafford. The present Duke of Sutherland is his grandson.

From the tenour of the duke's conversation, Lord Rockingham considered the phrase to mean the Duke of Grafton, himself, and Lord Camden. In answer to Lord Rockingham's statement of what passed, Lord Hardwicke writes :—

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

WREST, *July* 10*th*, 1767.

"IT is very singular that your letter of the 9th instant, in which you have favoured me with an account of the opening of a negotiation for a change of the *present* ministry, bears exactly the same date with your letter of last year, in which your Lordship relates the *coup-de-pied* given by our friend *Tom Tilbury* to the *last*.

The Court, I dare say, come into this measure very unwillingly and *contre cœur*, and merely because the Duke of Grafton hangs back, and is diffident about going on without Lord Chatham's support. I think so, because the condition of making up with the *remains* of a person who is avowed to be out of the question, is not a very encouraging preliminary.

Allow me to say that I am more concerned for your Lordship's health and real happiness than I am for your power, and, therefore, I cannot conclude without wishing you more quiet (by which I do not mean a state of stagnation and insignificancy), and less hurry than you have lived in for some time past. I know your Lordship's motives in your public conduct are of the most generous and liberal sort. I know too how much your friends are interested in your being in a situation to serve them and the country at the same time. I am sure I think myself particularly so, and yet I hardly know how to wish you the *envy*, the *load*, and the *vexation* of that great station you were in before. I am sure (whatever resolution you may take), I most heartily wish you the ablest assistance which the country can afford, and that you may *reconnôitre* the ground well (I mean at Court), before you set your foot again there."

The advice contained in the concluding paragraph was not altogether unnecessary. At the very commencement of the business, the King had offered a condition "which he had never intended to fulfil." As the negotiations proceeded the Duke of Grafton, with characteristic "wayward wavering inconsistency," grew much reconciled to keeping the Treasury himself. The change of sentiment was very agreeable to the King, who had discovered that "no man could be more pliant in the closet, or give him less trouble" than his Grace. Steps were therefore taken to render the treaty abortive, and make it appear that Lord Rockingham was the cause of the failure. Horace Walpole relates with much complacency, the steps he took to prevent the return of the Whigs to power. As his father's son, this agreeable letter-writer, but sorry politician, could in profession be no other than an advocate of the principles of the Revolution. In practice, however, he was a thorough-going "King's friend." In affected hatred of the prerogative he hung up at his Twickenham

Villa, an engraving of Charles the First's death warrant, with the inscription *Major Charta;* yet he thought it monstrous that the executive power should be wholly vested in the responsible Minister, and indignantly inquired of the Duke of Richmond whether his friends "expected that every man should depend upon King Rockingham and nobody on King George?" The negotiation would probably have failed without his mischievous interference. Mr. Grenville, as will be seen by the letter which follows, was the immediate obstacle to a satisfactory arrangement. But even if he and Lord Rockingham could have agreed as to terms, they would have had to encounter another formidable obstacle—George the Third's rancorous hatred of one of them. "I would sooner," said his Majesty to Lord Hertford, "meet Grenville at the point of the sword than let him into my closet." The same feeling of royal dislike was expressed to Colonel Fitzroy, the Duke of Grafton's brother, but in another form of words: "I would rather see the devil in my closet than Mr. Grenville."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.

July 2nd, 1767.

"ON Monday evening the Duke of Bedford, Lord Weymouth, Lord Sandwich, and Mr. Rigby, met at Newcastle House; and *we* were the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Portland, the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Dowdeswell, Admiral Keppel, and myself.

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* Walpole's George III., vol iii., pp. 58—83, *et passim.*

The first matter stated was by the Duke of Bedford, that Mr. George Grenville and Lord Temple were desirous of knowing we agreed in a declaration of our determination 'to assist to establish the rights of Great Britain over its colonies.' These words—which had been so frequently made use of in Parliament by Mr. George Grenville, and to which he had always answered that *nothing* as yet had asserted or established, &c., that something more was to be done—made us first ask what the Duke of Bedford understood by the declararation. His Grace explained his thoughts, and concurred in one, two, or three constructions; but Mr. Rigby seemed to think, that nothing would content Mr. George Grenville, but the words as they stood. I own I felt warm, and expressed my surprise that we should be called upon for a declaration of our creed on the subject of North America; that nothing in our conduct could give ground for a suspicion that we did not, and had not always meant that this country should maintain its sovereignty; that a question like this might have been proper if it had been a treaty between Mr. George Grenville and Lord Temple, and Lord Chatham; but to us it conveyed a reflection that I thought we ought to feel; that it appeared to me, and I had some reason, from information, to believe that Mr. George Grenville and Lord Temple had conveyed to the public, that the basis of the system of the new administration to be framed was to be, by adopting Mr. George Grenville's ideas on the subject of North America, and that, therefore, this looked like a trap, and to be made use of against us. . . . .

In regard to the 'honourable and becoming share of office for Lord Temple and George Grenville's friends,' I asked how that was to be fixed upon, and whether the Duke of Bedford had any list of Mr. George Grenville's friends, or any ideas what they might wish. It was said no, but we must leave a share of offices for them, which they would divide among their friends after his Majesty had agreed to the plan, and if they liked the plan. . . . I referred to the Duke of Newcastle, whether in all his negotiation he had ever heard of such a proposition. Your Lordship is a good historian, and somewhat practised in these matters. I will also beg to refer to you. All these circumstances united, made me very clear in opinion that we never could get through this negotiation. . . . .

At the end of the evening, I asked whether there was an intention to exclude the Duke of Grafton and General Conway. In regard to the former, after some hesitation, it was thought it might be a matter to consider; but as to the latter, an absolute objection was made. I said, I thought it very material to myself, that the person who was the leader in the House of Commons should be one in whom I might confide. This broke up the meeting.

On Tuesday night I desired to thank the Duke of Bedford for a declaration I had heard he had made to Lord Albemarle, that if this negotiation was put an end to, he should always think the Treasury fixed for me I desired to relinquish my position that I might not in any degree hamper his Grace, &c. &c.

I now proceed to Wednesday morning, when I went to Court and asked an audience of his Majesty. I began by thanking, &c., and afterwards proceeded to apologise for having pressed his Majesty to adopt the idea of a comprehensive plan, which appeared to be beyond what his Majesty *originally had intended.* I gave reasons why a comprehensive plan was best, and why in the beginning I thought it practicable, and why I thought now it could not be carried into execution.

In telling his Majesty why I thought a comprehensive plan necessary, I took hold of the expression in the Duke of Grafton's letter, to *unite the hearts of all his subjects*, and assured his Majesty that, as far as possible, it was the idea I would have tried to go upon. That the divisions which now rendered all Administrations fluctuating required a strong, united, and permanent Administration. *One thing* I did say, which I have since heard was noted. I said that 'when I had the honour of being in his Majesty's service, the measures of Administration were thwarted and obstructed by men in office, acting like a corps; that I flattered myself it was not entirely with his Majesty's inclination, and I would assure him it was very detrimental to his service.'*

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* "The King complained that Lord Rockingham had taxed him with breach of his word."—*Walpole's George III.*, vol. iii. p. 33.

His Majesty was very gracious, commended my correctness about Rigby's visit to George Grenville, and spoke with appearance of good humour—in short, a gracious audience.

He made one remark, which was on the word *offer* of the Treasury, &c., but that I was right in understanding it was the intention.

His Majesty then bowed, and I bowed, and so, bowing, we parted.

As soon as I came out, I took the Duke of Grafton and General Conway aside, and told them what had passed on the word *offer*. The Duke of Grafton and Conway said that was nothing, but from the beginning I had every right to represent that matter as understood. They then asked me what his Majesty had further said; they were much surprised at my answering '*Nothing*.'

I think and hope we have done right. I am persuaded we shall not diminish our character by any part of this negotiation. I am preparing to recover from all political fatigues by a journey into Yorkshire, and which I have hopes of beginning *even* this evening."

The next letter shows the weapon which the "Grenville Brothers" were in the habit of using in their political wars.

THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

August 27*th*, 1767.

"I HAVE seen a short account of the late negotiation, and which my author says *will be in print*.

It is evidently the manufacture of Lord Temple or

George Grenville. I am told it will be in the *Political Register* for next month; and if any of our friends know of it, I wish they would suppress their feelings till it has made its appearance in print, as I then think Lord Temple's retreat from it will be difficult.

You will easily imagine that an account which I suppose to come from Lord Temple, or that school, is an insidious misrepresentation of what passed, perverting facts to bear a colour and carry a construction different from the truth."

In *Almon's Political Register* for August, 1767, is what professes to be "An impartial account of a late interesting conference, with the several particulars previous and subsequent." The cause of the failure of the negotiation coincides with the statement of the foregoing letter, and that contained in the following.

THE EARL OF DARTMOUTH TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"MY DEAR LORD, *August* 17, 1767.

So many apologies and excuses for indolence, delay, and I know not how many other faults, that, by your own account, you have been guilty of, would really make me think, if I did not know you better, that you intended me a rebuke for my impertinence in urging my demand upon you: they almost make me ashamed of myself when I look back; but I'm going to commit the same fault for which I am blaming your Lordship, and therefore give me leave only to say that I return you many thanks for the copy, which pleases me better than an original, because it has saved you the trouble of transcribing your pamphlet—a labour which authors of genius are never very fond of. I heard most of the particulars of your Lordship's account a few days ago from Lord Lyttleton, with only this difference, that the names of Lord Temple and George Grenville were sparingly mentioned, and that the whole blame of the rupture was thrown upon the rigid pertinacity of a noble Duke and a noble Marquis, and confined to the subject of General Conway. The American measure, it was said, had been mentioned, but avoided by general answers, which determined nothing. The proposal made by a certain Marquis, in his last interview with the Duke of Grafton and General Conway, as a test of the sincerity of a great person, appears to me to be the most convincing proof of his own uprightness, whatever else it may discover. If he should still be left, like Cincinnatus, to follow his own plough, it can never be said that he has not done everything in his power to restore the dignity of Government. I have been told that soon after he left the closet, the doors of it were opened to Lord H—d, now Earl of R——; if the newspapers say true, that his advice was that the utmost firmness should be shown in withstanding the insolent attempt that had been made to storm the Court, and that the present Administration should be vigorously supported. Your Lordship knows best whether there be any truth in this."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.

WENTWORTH, *September 15th*, 1767.

"YOUR Grace has seen the account of the late negotiation in print. The school it comes from, and the intentions, are, in my mind, sufficiently evident. The malice and the insidiousness of the misrepresentations might affect me with some warmth, but would not give me concern, if I did not find that in some parts it meets the countenance, or rather tallies with the opinions and declarations of the Duke of Newcastle.

His Grace's hurry and eagerness to make, as he calls it, a solid junction with the Duke of Bedford and his friends, incline him to palliate, or, indeed, to justify Lord Temple and George Grenville's conduct on the late negotiation, and has produced from him such a letter to me, that, I own, I must desire your Grace, and all our friends, to give the fullest consideration on the line of conduct we are to pursue.

The political times we *have* (lived) and *do live* in, require the strictest attention to every circumstance of our actions. Hitherto, I flatter myself, we have acted so as to obtain the public opinion in our favour, and I trust we shall not easily be persuaded to take up a new conduct, and depart from the fundamental principles on which we have acted. In my judgment the conduct which the public have approved, has turned on *two material points*, in which the public felt themselves deeply interested.

The *one* was our steady and unalterable determination of ever resisting and attempting to restrain the power and influence of Lord Bute. The *other*, arose from Mr. Grenville's conduct as a Minister—whose measures and opinions we opposed out of Administration, and when in Administration we corrected his measures, relieved the country from his errors, and, in truth, acted upon a system diametrically opposite to his opinions. Consistency requires, both for our own honour, and for the public service, that we should not be the men to throw power back into Mr. George Grenville's hands, and it behoves us, in all considerations, to be watchful on that head. I should think myself a dupe, and the public would think me a knave, to attempt to take a lead in Administration, where, by its composition and formation it must appear that there would be a preponderance of Grenvillianism.

I must hope that our friends will feel and acknowledge that the *two* I have named were our fundamental principles, and howsoever the adherence to them may retard or even disappoint success, yet that they will still abide by them. I know for myself that if I do not feel the inward satisfaction of acting uniformly up to our professions, I should sink under the anxieties of my own mind, and should therefore wish, if such a change ever took place, that I might withdraw from politics, and enjoy private life, and private friendships, the quieter and the happiest state. . . . .

I know nothing authentically from London: the common report is, that Lord North refused the King and Administration to accept being Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Duke of Newcastle writes me word that either Lord Barrington or Dyson is to succeed: I hardly think the latter possible, though few things are now impossible to happen in politics.

Lord Mansfield has the seals in the interim: if his having them affords him opportunities of going to the closet, and that he does so, and makes long stay, possibly his Majesty and he may enter into conversations which may produce events. I should think it probable that Lord Mansfield would try to incline his Majesty towards George Grenville. And if he does, and it succeeds, I shall think we have had an escape, for I don't believe that any of our friends will avow George Grenville in open daylight as leader of Administration. What I should most dread is, that if we had the forming of an Administration, some of our friends, on the idea of conciliating the Duke of Bedford, &c., would throw such a weight into the Grenvillian party as would hamper us in every measure, and blow us up the very first opportunity."

The next letter contains a very correct view of the state of parties at this period.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

GOODWOOD, *October 4th*, 1767.

"MY DEAR LORD,

I hear that your Lordship is come to town, that you have seen the Duke of Grafton at Newmarket, and that Lord Albemarle is gone to negotiate at Woburn before he sets out for France. I do not mention this, I assure you, as our old friend the Duke of Newcastle might do, to introduce a jealous complaint of being left by your Lordship in ignorance of this, and of what your political thoughts in general may be; but only to give me an opportunity of proposing a few questions for your Lordship's consideration, which are founded upon being informed that you stand at present in the highest of all situations, courted by both sides, each offering you the Treasury, &c. &c.; but each also putting in some conditions. I have no doubt but you will determine right if you follow your own opinion; but the more lights so momentous a matter is thrown into, the better you will be able to judge. You may say perhaps that my questions, like those that are made in Parliament to a witness at the bar, convey the opinion of the questioner. I will not deny it; but if you are of another opinion (which I do not believe) answer my questions, and I assure you I am open to conviction. But to begin. Are not there three parties?

First, your Lordship and your friends. Secondly, the Duke of Grafton, Conway, and our former friends, supported by the Court. Thirdly, the Duke of Bedford, and his friends, supported by Lord Temple and Mr. Grenville and their followers.

Is it not impossible to form a junction of the whole? Would there be places enough if the different politics and passions of the parties could agree? Are not the Ministry distressed to keep, and the Bedfords distressed to get their places? Must not, therefore, each of them be ready to join your Lordship? If you cannot unite the whole, which should you prefer joining with, in point of consistency as to measures and in point of prudence.

First, as to security of their attachment to you; and, secondly, as to probability of success in the closet? Have the present Ministry any favourite measures in view to which they require your compliance? Have the Bedfords none as to America, and are their notions of trade and foreign affairs likely to be submitted to your Lordship, particularly Mr. Grenville's? Is it most prudent to trust to the sincerity of Mr. Rigby, Lord Sandwich, Lord Gower, Lord Temple, and Mr. Grenville, or to the Duke of Grafton and General Conway? As to success in coming in, is it most likely to take place from a junction with Bedford House and the Grenvilles, or with the Duke of Grafton and Conway? Is not the King likely to do everything he can to support the present Ministry against a junction of your Lordship with the Bedfords and Grenvilles? Cannot the present people hold out at least till the elections are over? Is it not a condition of the union with Bedford House that Conway shall not be the leader of the House of Commons? Is not this the very same point you broke upon before? Is not this plainly setting him aside as a Minister, that you may have no House of Commons man to stand in competition with Mr. Grenville? Is the condition of the other side of keeping Lord Camden Chancellor, though bad enough, of so bad a tendency as this? Might not that condition now be withdrawn by the Court? If it was, are you sure that Yorke is not already leaving you for Grenville? If you join the Bedfords and Grenvilles, and of course separate from Conway, will not they outrate you in speakers both in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons. Can you suppose that a party which has the best speaker in both Houses will submit to remain inferiors to another party, and act in subordination, or even upon an equality with it? Must not Conway or Grenville have the lead in the House of Commons now that Townshend is no more? Can you believe that Grenville will be Dowdeswell's second? If Grenville does support Dowdeswell for a session, can it be supposed it will remain so? Will not even his supporting Dowdeswell insensibly get the House of Commons to be his and not Dowdeswell's? Must not this end in Grenville's taking the lead himself? Who would then be Minister? Would he not in that situation require the powers of the House of Commons, and under that name engross all those of the Treasury? or would your Lordship divide them with him? Would Conway require any powers?

If the support of Lord Bute's friends, which you would have, if you joined the present Ministers, frightens you, I suppose you mean never to come in, but when you have them in opposition to you. If so, I would ask your Lordship if you think you can ever come in but by force? How long may you think it will take to bring that about? Whether when brought about you will not have the King in his heart your enemy, and hating you? Whether it is pleasant to be a Minister in such a situation? Whether 'tis a safe situation, when you can expect no other treatment than to be turned out the first unpopular measure you are engaged in, and cannot depend on your new friends for support? I come now (and it is time) to my last question which I think is a very material one. Will you be most likely to carry with you your friends in the city, and those who are attached to you from principle and opinion, when you join with the Bedfords and Grenvilles, or with the Duke of Grafton and Conway? To this string of questions I will only add that they are prompted by the most sincere regard and earnest friendship for your Lordship. They are for your consideration, and I beg you would keep them to yourself, and return me my letter (not by the Post), for although I am not ashamed of my opinion, I do not care it should lie on your table, as I have sometimes seen you leave papers of more consequence than this."

In a letter to Mr. Dowdeswell, written in December, Lord Rockingham expressed his hope of "a real union with the Bedfords." But this hope was not realised: overtures from the Court were again made to that party. The Duke of Bedford declined office, but left his followers free to accept, which they did, and soon became entirely amalgamated with the "King's friends."

"Lord Chatham," says Lord Hardwicke's Memoriall, "from his lingering indisposition being considered *hors de combat,* and not likely to appear in business any more, the Duke of Grafton thought fit to strengthen himself, in January 1768, by taking in the whole Bedford party, who quitted their connexions with Mr. Grenville and Lord Rockingham very readily and cheerfully for the 'loaves and fishes,' which a first Minister has it in his power to distribute.

"It cannot be denied," continues the Memoriall, "but the Minister gained a considerable degree of additional strength, both in and out of Parliament by this connexion (vulgarly and not improperly christened the Bloomsbury gang)."

The writer of the following letter, Sir William Meredith, member for Wigan, was a Lord of the Admiralty in Lord Rockingham's Administration, and resigned with his colleague, Admiral Keppel, as has been already mentioned. He was a frequent speaker in Parliament on the Whig side. He was, according to Walpole, "a convert to Jacobitism; inflexibly serious, and of no clear head: yet practice formed him to a manner of speaking, that had weight, and was worth attending to by those who had patience for it. An honest man, though not without personal views, which a little sharpened his scorn of those who had unlike views, and were not equally honest."

"It gives me no concern," writes Sir William Meredith to Lord Rockingham, "that the Bedfords are at last settled. I had no idea of your negotiation succeeding with them last summer. They have cast a Lot's wife's eye on Lord Bute ever since they left him; but had they come in with your Lordship, not as an incorporated body, but, what they affected to be, a detached corps, on the first disagreement, or first prospect of better pay, or better quarters, they would have turned against you.

"All I wish is, that your friends may look to themselves, and themselves only; that eye which they have constantly kept on somebody or other, whose object they were not, has been the bane of the party before they went into office, whilst they were there, and since they came out.

In the present situation of things, my poor notion is that if Mr. Dowdeswell, Sir G. Savile, Lord John Cavendish and Burke act together, and take up measures strongly without suffering any personal concerns to divert them, they must lead the independent part of the House and absorb the attention of the public. Particular men, if they are wanted, may sooner be got this way, than by giving up measures in showing a desire for them."

A few years later the worthy writer himself "cast a Lot's wife's eye on Lord Bute," having been gained over to the Court by the appointment of Comptroller of the Household, and "though he relinquished it again as he said on principle, he lost more on the side of conscience, and left it more doubtful whether he was an upright than a very unsettled man." *

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* Walpole's George III., vol. iv. p. 64.

CHAPTER III.

WILKES. — NULLUM TEMPUS BILL. — CHARACTER OF SIR JAMES LOWTHER, AFTERWARDS EARL OF LONSDALE.—LETTERS FROM LORD HARDWICKE, DUKES OF PORTLAND AND NEWCASTLE. — LORD ROCKINGHAM'S CONCILIATORY POLICY TOWARDS AMERICA OVERTHROWN. — LETTERS FROM GEORGE SAVILE, LORD ROCKINGHAM, AND GOVERNOR WENTWORTH ON THE AFFAIRS OF AMERICA.

When Wilkes's name last occurred in these pages, he had been set at liberty by the decree of Chief Justice Pratt, and obtained damages from his prosecutors. Shortly afterwards his papers were burned by the common hangman, he was declared an outlaw, and went to France. At the dissolution of Parliament in 1768 he returned home, and with the writ of outlawry hanging over him declared himself a candidate for the City of London, was arrested for debt, and bailed—lost his election, stood for Middlesex, came in at the head of the poll, surrendered to his outlawry, was sentenced to imprisonment, rescued by the mob; but escaping from their hands, became a prisoner in the King's Bench.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE HON. CHARLES YORKE.

"DEAR BROTHER, St. James's Square, *May 2nd*, 1768.

Lord Rockingham called upon me yesterday, just returned from Newmarket; he asked the Duke of Grafton there, if any business would be brought on when the Parliament met; his Grace avoided giving an explicit answer, and if any *English* could be picked out of what he did say, it was that nothing *was fixed.*

Sir Joseph* informs me, that Mr. Conway confirms this *idea*, and that the circular was rather to prevent *surprise* than to *begin first.* Indeed, whilst Wilkes is still in the *hands* of the *law*, I do not see, how the Parliament can take it up. Lord Rockingham wished for an opportunity of talking this matter over with you. He asked, when a member is in custody, whether some notice must not necessarily be taken of it, and that might bring on a question about him. It is useful now and then to inculcate a little good doctrine into his Lordship, for he sees a variety of people, several of whom, from former questions about Wilkes, and former connections with him and his cause, are more favourable to that licentious spirit, than you or I ever have (been) or can be.

Lord Lyttleton has just left me. He talks in a favourable style of Wilkes, commended his behaviour in not accepting of *liberty* from the populace, and thinks the Attorney-General should have taken bail; is also of opinion that there are circumstances in his case upon both the verdicts which should induce the judges not to carry too rigorous a hand in their sentence. He is clear that till he (Wilkes) is out of the pound of the law, his affair cannot come before the House of Commons.

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* Sir Joseph Yorke, Lord Hardwicke's brother.

He supposes the Ministry are not unanimous in their sentiments about Wilkes, and that the Bedford part of it (especially the new Secretary) are for going greater lengths than the *others* who were formerly connected with the *North Briton.* He thinks Lord Gower moderate. Upon the whole, there is nothing clear, but that this country is in a strange, disjointed state. They think us gone in Holland, and Sir Joseph suspects that Dr. Lewis insinuates notions of that sort into his pupil.

* * * *

I think this letter (in Wray's style) is deeply political. I could add about North American matter, and Portugal, but they may keep cold till I see you.

HARDWICKE."

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

WELBECK, *Monday, July 4th,* 1768.

"THE hopes of seeing you here prevented my answering the letter you were so good as to send me by Lord George Cavendish, and a very unexpected resolution of the Treasury to grant Sir James Lowther a lease of a great part of my estate in Cumberland (which has been possessed by my family for upwards of sixty years), obliged me to write so many letters that I really till this moment have not had time to thank you for your last. I shall say nothing more of politics at present than that it has always been a particular satisfaction to me to find that those that I had an opinion of, and sincere friendship for, have never been biassed by bad examples, or picked up one single speck of the dirt that has been wallowed in by, or stuck to, almost every other set of men in this country."

The attempt here mentioned to strip a political opponent of a part of his estate, afforded a further proof of the malignity of the Court.

William the Third had granted to the first Earl of Portland the honour of Penrith and its appurtenances. These "appurtenances" were considered to comprise the Forest of Inglewood and the Manor and Castle of Carlisle. Sir James Lowther, who fancied he had discovered a flaw in the duke's title, succeeds in obtaining a lease from the Government, of whatever land he should be able to recover to the Crown. This exercise of the prerogative was founded on an old law maxim, "*Nullum tempus occurrit regi.*"—Time offers no bar to the claims of the King. Every circumstance combines to increase the odium of an act sufficiently ungracious in itself. Parliament was about to be dissolved. The Duke of Portland and Sir James Lowther were the rival interests in Cumberland and Westmoreland; the newly-leased property commanded an extensive election influence in both counties. The Duke of Portland, a proud, though bashful man, bore an unexceptionable character, possessed a thoroughly amiable disposition. None of these epithets, except that of "proud," would apply to his competitor. Sir James was a son-in-law of Lord Bute. This connexion of itself would have sufficed to render him unpopular, but he was still more hateful on his own account. Sir James Lowther, known later as the "bad Lord Lonsdale," was a strange compound of pride, eccentricity, caprice, and cruelty. He was long called the "petty tyrant of the north." If he possessed any redeeming quality it was, as Peter Pindar says, in his celebrated ode to him,

> "A farthing rushlight to a world of shade."

His fiery and overbearing character is indicated in his conduct on the attainment of his earldom. He was created with three others to this dignity. His co-peers had all held ancient baronies. He had overleaped the two lower grades of nobility. Indignant, however, at finding that his name was the last on the batch, he forced his way into the House of Commons, and would have seated himself on the opposition benches, as if he had been still a member, had he not been withheld by main force by the Serjeant-at-Arms and his deputy, who were obliged to grasp the hilts of their swords before they could restrain him from accomplishing his purpose. Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and possessor of an immense estate, Lowther employed the power he derived from these sources in acts of oppression. He assumed the haughty demeanour of a feudal chieftain, and exacted a serf-like submission from his poor and abject dependents. He professed a thorough contempt for modern refinements. Grass grew in the neglected approaches to his mansion. If he had occasion to go from Lowther to Penrith, it would be in a rusty old coach, drawn by fine, but untrimmed, horses. Awe and silence pervaded the inhabitants when the gloomy despot traversed their streets. He might have been taken for a Judge Jefferies, about to open a royal commission to try them as state criminals. Clarendon says of a certain Earl of Arundel that "he went sometimes to London, because there only he found a greater man than himself, because at home he was allowed to forget that there was such a man." The visit of Lord Lonsdale to the metropolis failed to produce this conviction of inferiority. Once, on a levee day, he desired his coachman to break through the line of carriages conveying parties to Court. His coach was stopped by a Life Guardsman, but the loud menaces of this "leviathan of two counties" so perplexed the trooper that he would fain have let him go. The officer on duty, however, ordered two of his men to seize the horses' heads, and to turn them into Piccadilly. Lonsdale threw the officer his card, and a duel ensued. The injustice of his quarrel rendered it difficult for him to find a second. At last Sir William Lowther, his cousin, and his successor in the earldom, undertook the office. By a will, dated the same day on which the duel was fought, Sir William became eventually possessed of a large property, which did not necessarily accompany the title. Another anecdote is related of Lord Lonsdale.

He induced the daughter of a Cumberland farmer to leave her home, and place herself under his protection. Whilst yet young and beautiful the poor girl died. He caused her to be embalmed, and a glass case to be placed over the face, that he might recall to memory the features of one of the few persons for whom he entertained an affection.

His despotic disposition manifested itself on every occasion. Speaking of Whitehaven, of which borough he was the patron, he said he was in the possession of the land, the fire, and the water of that town, a boast which is thus mentioned in the Rolliad,—

> "E'en by the elements his power confess'd,
> Of mines and boroughs Lonsdale stands possess'd,
> And one sad servitude alike denotes
> The slave that labours and the slave that votes."

In some years of his life, he resisted the payment of all bills. If the creditors were neighbours, my Lord "knew them to be knaves." If they lived at a distance, "how could his Lordship know what they were?" In this latter category stood the father of William Wordsworth, who died, leaving the poet and four other helpless children. The executors of the will, foreseeing the result of a legal contest with a *millionaire*, withdrew opposition, trusting to Lord Lonsdale's sense of justice for payment. They leaned on a broken reed, the wealthy debtor

> "Died and made no sign!"

In order to quiet the minds of those who, like the Duke of Portland, held government lands, Sir George Savile introduced into Parliament a bill, commonly called the "Nullum Tempus Bill," to restrain the Crown from suing for recovery after sixty years' possession. Lord North, afraid of putting a direct negative to so popular a measure, moved the order of the day, and only succeeded in throwing out the Bill for that year by 134 to 114, many courtiers voting in the minority.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

CLAREMONT, *February* 18*th*, 1768.

"I CANNOT sufficiently return my thanks to my dear Marquis for his great goodness and attention to me, in giving me, at three o'clock in the morning, such an exact account, which he knew must give me great pleasure and satisfaction, of the greatest day in the House of Commons that the minority ever had in my memory, except the famous one of Sir Thomas Hanmer, when the minority were 208, and the Protestant Succession was in danger under Queen Anne's administration. That great minority saved the succession, as I am persuaded this will do the properties of many of his Majesty's subjects, and particularly of our friend the Duke of Portland. The Ministry then had more resolution than this petty Administration have. They boldly put a negative to Sir Thomas Hanmer's question, and carried it by forty. They did not resort to a previous question, as this Administration have done, and carried it only by twenty."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

February 23*rd*, 1768.

"ADMIRAL KEPPEL will probably acquaint you by this post, or some early opportunity, of what passed on Wednesday in the House of Commons. It was a most honourable day for *us*. Our friends exerted themselves, they moved the matter and conducted it ably. The credit of the day is ours—the public will reap the advantage; and though we were beat on division, we being only 114, and the Administration 134, yet I will venture to ensure success to our motion on renewing it at the opening of the next Session of Parliament, and I think I may also add that the landed interest in England will highly approve our attempt, as it will secure them against the odious revival of *long dormant* claims of the Crown or Duchy of Lancaster on private landed property. At present 204 years quiet possession is the period which bars the Crown or Duchy of Lancaster's claim, on the most favourable construction of Statute Law. Our intention is, that sixty years' quiet possession should be the utmost which in *future* should be necessary to be proved.

I had intended not to put a word of politics in this letter, as I send it to the Post Office. I shall take a safer conveyance for writing on more private matters, but what this letter contains, both in the beginning and end, may be read at Charing Cross—*Si bon leur semble*."

Lord Rockingham was correct in his prognostication. In the next Session of Parliament the Nullum Tempus Bill became the law of the land. Thus, on other occasions in this reign, the oppression of an individual became instrumental in securing and extending the rights of the community.

Scarcely had Lord Rockingham been driven from power, than the wise and conciliatory policy which he had adopted towards America was overturned. As a necessary consequence, agitation, which was drooping for want of nourishment, again reared its head in the colonies. In the spring of 1767, Chatham's Chancellor of the Exchequer (Charles Townshend) to the astonishment of the House of Commons in general, and of Conway the ministerial leader, in particular, declared that "he knew how to draw a revenue from the colonies," and followed up his boast by imposing, with the concurrence of Parliament, port duties on a variety of articles, and by stationing a large Custom House staff at Boston, to carry his project into execution.

While the minds of the Americans were highly exasperated by the appointment of these officials, a sloop belonging to one of the merchants of the town was seized by the Board of Customs for non-compliance with the new regulations, and placed under the guns of the Romney man-of-war. The people, in revenge, hauled the Collector's boat on shore, and burned it to ashes.

Some of the remarks in the following extract of a letter, upon the receipt of the intelligence of this event in England, were doubtless novel and startling eighty years ago, although they have probably entered into many minds since that period.

SIR GEORGE SAVILE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"MY LORD, RUFFORD, *July* 31*st*, 1768.

* * * *

If the boat had been burnt before the arrival of the Stamp Act, I know not how I should have voted. To be sure it ought to have made no difference; but nobody can quite command their resentments.

To be more serious, it is a very melancholy story. I am afraid these same colonists are above our hands, and I am almost ready to think that G. G(renville)'s Act only brought on a crisis twenty, or possibly fifty, years sooner than was necessary. This indeed is, regarding the colonies, almost all the ill that can be done; for, in my opinion, (which may be in this a little singular), it is in the nature of things that, some time or other, colonies so situated, must assume to themselves the rights of nature, and resist those of law, which is rebellion. By *rights* of nature, I mean advantage of situation, or their natural *powers*. I am sorry I have confounded *right* and *power* so much: it would take me a quire of paper to clear this up.

I know I shall grow a little cautious of playing too familiarly with a bear that has given me a pretty little, merry, good-humoured hug. He is not cross now, but stronger than I am."

Writing to Mr. Dowdeswell, on the 11th of August, Lord Rockingham says:—

"The affairs in N. America tend more and more to confusion. I enclose you the copy of a letter I have received from poor Harrison, from Boston, with the particular account of what passed there. He wishes much to come over. I am a little doubtful whether he should not waive that thought at present, as I think, if he does, the Administration will take the opportunity of putting in some one else. You see, in his letter, he thinks he could give useful information if he was at home. I cannot determine yet which advice to give him, and have not yet seen Sir George Savile to talk with him upon it."

This Mr. Harrison was a Collector of Customs at Boston, who owed his appointment to the Whigs; and it would appear by the following letter from the Governor of New Hampshire, that the Tory authorities in the colonies vented upon him the dislike they felt for his patrons.

GOVERNOR WENTWORTH TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"My Lord, New Hampshire, *November 13th*, 1768.

* * * *

Mr. Harrison, at Boston, seems much distressed; his income diminished near half—harassed, and exposed to death, by extra official duty and employments. Whenever any indiscreet measures are to be remedied—any service of difficulty, and that is the knot of popular clamour, to be done—poor Mr. H—— has constantly been ordered to it, however, out of the duty of his office, or even repugnant to it. He seems pointed out to be the forlorn hope of their scheme, and would inevitably have suffered; but his amiable life renders him so beloved in Boston, that he could do what no other man might safely attempt. His earnest desire to promote the service induced him to perform these injunctions, though he was hurt, and well knew they did not pertain to his office. His best friends see the design to hold him up as a shield, to catch all the darts of resentment pointed against their management; also by procuring the madness of tumult to wound so worthy an officer, to render the intemperance of the country utterly inexcusable. I am convinced Mr. H—— would not again be compelled into such things; he complains extremely of his hard treatment, which his declining health and spirits have permitted him to endure.

* * * *

J. WENTWORTH."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO MR. HARRISON.

"DEAR HARRISON, *October 2nd*, 1768.

* * * * * *

I need not say to you that I felt infinite concern at the disagreeable situation you was in, and not the less so when the occasion of your difficulties were of a nature so unfortunate and dangerous, not only to yourself as an individual, but to this country and its colonies.

Upon receiving your letter I immediately communicated the contents to our friends, Sir George Savile, and Mr. Dowdeswell. In regard to what relates to yourself, I shall now inform you of the opinion in which we all concur.

* * * * * *

The state of Administration at home is not of the most favourable cast towards those persons, who are supposed to be our particular friends, and we therefore think, that if you desired leave to come home, the probable consequence would be that another Collector would be sent out.

The plea of the necessity of officers of government being in residence in America—which was the pretence used in the dismission of Sir Jeffery Amherst (notwithstanding all his merits), would naturally be called up to justify your removal, and I doubt not but that there may be others like *Sir Jeffery's successor* who would readily grasp at the opening if you made one.

There is also another reason which weighs much with me against your coming over and running the hazard. I am sure if you was at home, you would give the Administration the best information you could in regard to measures proper to be pursued; and I am almost as certain that they would not much listen *to you.* It would be impossible, if you was at home, but that you and we would have frequent discourse on the state of affairs in America, and possibly the Administration might trace your arguments and ideas in something that might drop from our friends in debate, and then the consequence would be—even if they had given you quietly leave to come home at first—they would make you the scape-goat of their resentment. The anxiety you express in your letter at your situation makes it very irksome to me to give you the advice of staying there. If your health or the state of your family make you still determine to try to get leave to come home, you will always find in me and your friends the same cordial friendship towards you, which I hope and trust you saw in the course of the year you was amongst us.

The only pleasing part of your letter was that I thought I saw in it, that there were many persons of consequence in Boston, whose private friendship towards you was not dismayed by the clamour of the outrageous. I think your natural temper, firmness, and judgment, may not only be serviceable for your own safety, but may be infinitely useful in bringing about peace and good order, whenever calm sense begins to bear up against the rashness and passion of a few, I hope, vain men, who to gratify their desire of importance, are now the fomenters of all the disturbances. I own I feel just as angry at the dangerous madness of some in America, as at the passion and obstinacy of some at home, and my only reliance is, that there are still at home those who will adhere to their avowed maxims of justness and mildness towards the colonies,—and that in the colonies there are still as many, who will co-operate with them by checking a conduct in the colonies which has every now and then broke out in the most dangerous and offensive manner.

The Declaratory Bill which *we* brought in to fix and ascertain the rights of this country over its colonies, is what I must and shall ever adhere to. The exerting of that *right* is a matter which ought to be well considered, and the ability of the colonies ought to be the first postulatum ground to go upon. There is no entering into the arguments *pro* and *con* on this subject without making my letter much too long, and especially to you who already know my sentiments on that matter. If the affairs in America go on with warmth, I have no doubt but that the restrictions of the Act of Navigation will be considered as a virtual taxation—I am sure so far I should agree with them, that they have the same tendency as a tax, and I always use it as an argument to those, who often assert that the colonies pay nothing to the support of the mother country. If I tie my tenants to grind at the manor mill, I certainly raise money upon them *virtually*, for I let my mill the better for their being tied to be its customers."

CHAPTER IV.

DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.—RESIGNATION OF LORD CHATHAM. —DEATH OF THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.—HIS LAST LETTER. — CHARACTER OF GOVERNOR WENTWORTH. — MESSAGE TO PARLIAMENT ON THE KING'S DEBTS. — ORIGIN OF PUBLIC MEETINGS IN ENGLAND.—THE FREEHOLDERS OF MIDDLESEX. —CHARACTERS OF JAMES TOWNSHEND AND JOHN SAWBRIDGE. —RECOVERY OF LORD CHATHAM.

The twelfth Parliament of Great Britain was dissolved by proclamation on the 12th of March, and its successor met on the 20th of May. Little business was transacted beyond committing Wilkes to prison, and voting thanks to Harley, the Lord Mayor, for his conduct during the disturbances which ensued on the attempt of the mob to rescue their idol from the clutches of the law.

On the 12th of October, Lord Chatham after having received the pay and emoluments of office for upwards of two years, without performing any of its duties, begged the Duke of Grafton to lay him, with the utmost duty, at his Majesty's feet, with his humblest request that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to grant him his royal permission to resign the Privy Seal.

The humble manner and language that Lord Chatham always adopted in the closet formed a fertile source of ridicule to his contemporaries. Chase Price said "that at the levee he used to bow so low, you could see the tip of his hooked nose between his legs."

THE EARL OF MANSFIELD TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

October 16*th*, 1768.

"Sir Lawrence Dundas * was with me this morning, and brought me the news. This resignation is of a piece with many other parts of his conduct; it is meant to be so timed as to do mischief at home and abroad—I hope it will have a different effect. It remains to be seen whether he can again lead an opposition from Hayes. He says the resignation came last Wednesday; from your account of Friday, it had not made much impression. You are in the right to stay, but I do not apprehend that any thing will immediately follow. It may keep Shelburne in a few days longer.

Most affectionately yours, &c. &c."

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* Sir Lawrence Dundas, member for Newcastle-under-Lyne. He returned no less than nine members to Parliament. In four years of the late war, he had acquired above eight hundred thousand pounds—"so far fairly, that he had executed the commission on cheaper terms than any one else who had offered. He was, besides, nobly generous." Sir Lawrence was originally a follower of Mr. Grenville, but was gained over to the Court by Rigby.

LORD HARDWICKE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"MY DEAR LORD, WIMPLE, *October* 23*rd*, 1768.

Lord Chatham's resignation was to me unexpected. It looks as if he, waked from a long trance, grew sensible of his being a cypher, and resigned in a pet. One does not yet see clearly into the consequences with which this step may be attended. Lord Shelburne is certainly out, or to *be so* immediately. Some *others* must feel very awkward, and perhaps the noble Lord, with all his complaisance to Royal commands, may not like the company he is to be joined with. So far I concur with your Lordship.

As to myself I have passed this summer in great quiet and tranquillity, and in a much better state of health than the last, which I attribute principally to a total vacation from business, and therefore I do not look forward with any degree of satisfaction to a near approach of the Session, in which many difficult and perplexing points are like to come on, particularly the dispute with our colonies. . . . .

HARDWICKE."

On the 17th of November, died at his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, Chatham's ancient rival and colleague, Newcastle. The old duke had early in the year been seized with a paralytic stroke, and since the attack had ceased to take any part in politics. His extraordinary care of his health had been a jest even among his flatterers, and caused him to spend enormous sums on physicians. But when death was really at hand, he viewed its approach with cheerfulness and resignation. He had always been a strict observer of religious ordinances, and divine service had been constantly performed twice a day to his household. The day before he died he received the sacrament from the hands of the Bishop of Salisbury. The following letter to the Marquis of Rockingham, written seventeen days before his death, is probably the last he ever wrote.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"MY DEAREST LORD, CLAREMONT, *October* 31*st*, 1768.

I am infinitely obliged to you for your very kind letter, and propose to be in town on Wednesday, at dinner; but I shall call upon my friend the Princess Amelia at Gunnersbury on my way, so that I shall be late at dinner; I hope to see you in the course of the day, and I am sure you and I shall agree in opinion in everything. In short, I will finally have no opinion *but yours.*

I have had a very kind letter from my friend my Lord Albemarle, which does me great honour indeed, and must give me great satisfaction; as it contains the most kind and full approbation of my conduct. It goes a little too far; that is, farther than I can comply with, or, indeed, in the present circumstances of my health, I am able to go through with. I am always ready to give my opinion to your Lordship or my Lord Albemarle, whenever you desire it; but the necessary attendance upon my health makes it impossible for me, if there were not other reasons, to appear in that very high and advantageous light in which my Lord Albemarle's partiality seems to wish me.

My plan is this, to see every body till twelve o'clock, and then to turn every body out, and go and take my airing. *An irregular friend may slip in, but I can turn him out without ceremony.*

I am vastly pleased with Dowdeswell. I hear he has given in a plan in writing, which is extremely judicious and proper. I shall chide him for not sending me a copy of it, for my instruction. The Duchess of Newcastle sends her kindest compliments to your Lordship. I thank God she is in general very well; and I hope that the bath, where she goes a few days after coming to town, will prevent any material return of her cholic; she will be mighty glad to obey any commands that you may have for my Lady Rockingham, of whom we hope your Lordship has had good accounts.

As I shall have the pleasure of seeing you so soon, I will trouble you no more, but with the assurance of my being

Most steadily and unalterably yours,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE."

"P. S. I have had a very pretty and very satisfactory letter from young Lord Archer."

A portion of the letter which follows has already appeared in this work. The writer, John Wentworth, was an American by birth, and though bearing the family name of Lord Rockingham, was not a member of his family, although it was to his Lordship that he owed his appointment. He had previously been joint agent for New Hampshire, with Barlow Trecothick. He had scarcely completed his thirty-first year, when, in 1767, he entered upon the duties of his office. He was the third governor of New Hampshire of the name of Wentworth, and as he bore also the Christian name of one of his predecessors, he is styled in the Provincial Annals, "John Wentworth the second." This gentleman enjoyed a very large share of popular favour, which was greatly heightened by the contrast his conduct bore to that of the governors in the neighbouring provinces. He possessed sound judgment, a cultivated taste, and entertained large and liberal views. He was active and enterprising in his disposition; polite, easy, and conciliatory in his address: "though bred a merchant, he had a taste for agriculture, and entered vigorously into the spirit of cultivation. He frequently traversed the forests; explored the ground for new roads; and began a plantation for himself in the township of Wolfeborough, on which he expended large sums, and built an elegant house. His example was influential on other landholders, who also applied themselves in earnest to cultivate the wilderness." *

The Governor's letter contains an account of the reception by the inhabitants of Boston, of two regiments

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* Belknap's History of New Hampshire, p. 339; see also Allan's American Biographical Dictionary, p. 764.

sent from England to enforce Charles Townshend's Customs' regulations. It will also show how the Government, step by step, wantonly alienated the affections of the colonies from the mother country.

GOVERNOR WENTWORTH TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

New Hampshire, *November* 13*th*, 1768.

"My Lord,

I had the honour to write to your Lordship about one month since, by a ship from Boston, Captain Jacobson, wherein I endeavoured to suggest some things relating to the present state of this continent. Soon afterwards I went to Boston and found reason, from my personal observation, to confirm in my own mind those matters I wrote heretofore, and to be fully convinced that more obstructions have arisen to the service in this country from the servants of Government, than from any other cause. It gives me great pleasure to find the General, since his arrival at Boston, has entirely the same sentiments. The troops landed under very strict discipline, and the officers conducted themselves with discreet firmness and moderation, whence it happened that no mischief ensued; on the contrary, at night, the soldiers being under arms, waiting a determination for barracks, had victuals and drink brought plentifully and given them by the inhabitants, very differently from any hatred to them. The next day, the soldiers were in every street, saying aloud, "God preserve the Commissioners, who have brought us into such a blessed country," and the officers appeared not a little surprised to find the town quiet and orderly to a remarkable degree. I am at a loss to inform your Lordship of any real use or necessity for this armament: it cannot be advantageous to the revenue, which will not suffice to pay half the expense. If it is intended to secure the dependence of the colonies, I fear it will exceedingly operate the other way. Perhaps military power may preserve the subjection of conquests; but I believe it is positively true, that the just dependence of the British colonies on this continent can be ascertained only by a wise, moderate, and well-timed reformation and strengthening of their government, gradually introducing the beneficial regulations necessary, always securing measures to take place before they were proposed publicly, which may always be effected, nay, in many instances, cause them to be solicited, if time and faithful attention were cordially exerted here, upon seasonable direction and independent support from Administration; otherwise I fear that colony government will soon be uncertain, and the cause of constant perplexity and expense at home. It will not longer be the object of censure and admiration that the revenue service is not better, or rather more beneficially accomplished in this country, when the management of that department is known. At first the strangest superciliousness and publicly expressed hatred to the country excited disrespect and apprehensions against them, and gave room to artful, factious men to transfer the odium also to the act, which subjected them to the arbitrary dispositions of such men, whose weakness and insufficiency has now brought both their heads and hearts into unspeakable contempt. In other hands, I have no doubt but the act would have obtained without even a petition against it; but now it is impracticable to any good effect; such an universal detestation hath been unwisely excited, that every means will be practised to evade the laws of trade. I don't think they will refuse or resist them, unless in some instances, as the smugglers do in England, at all hazards; but a more effectual destruction will ensue, from its being rendered (the laws) obnoxious to the country, who thence combine virtually to assist and cover, by the utmost diligence and craft, every fraud upon the revenue, as a meritorious duty. It is very easy to foresee that where a whole country determine to evade, that all the ships and troops in Europe cannot prevent them; for, if the law is rendered entirely odious, and by those that are to administer to it, what less can be expected than every art to evade its force. It will require great care and knowledge to eradicate these prejudicial ideas, which were not known in this country eighteen months since; for although there has ever been smuggling, yet the country generally condemned it, and they would assist discoveries as to any other law, and whoever suffered by it was no more pitied: now exactly the reverse takes place."

A message was, on the 28th of February, sent to the House of Commons, requesting payment of the King's debts, which amounted to 513,000*l.* Dowdeswell not only moved that the particulars of each expense should be specified, but that the papers might distinguish under what Administration each debt had been incurred. This was intended to bring out the superior frugality of the Rockingham Administration. His amendment was rejected. The Bill encountered much opposition in its passage through the Upper House; Lord Rockingham adopted the same course as Dowdeswell; and, on the second day, the Duke of Grafton provoking him, he "replied with spirit unusual to him, and said the Duke had braced his nerves. The Court Lords were sixty to twenty-six."*

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"My Lord, *March* 10*th*, 1769.

It gave me great pleasure to hear you had exerted yourself to speak in the House; and I am particularly pleased that you returned to the charge the second day, and replied; for it gives me hopes that you will get rid of that ill-placed timidity which has hitherto checked you: indeed, my dear Lord, you owe it to yourself, to your friends, and to the cause which you stand at the head of, to deliver those sentiments in public which have made you so many private friends. I will not say all I think, because I dread the idea of flattering; which it might have the appearance of, though I trust you will not accuse me of it. But, be assured, you cannot speak too often; practice will make it easy to you, you will do yourself credit, the cause good, and take away the only objection your enemies can raise against you as a minister. The division of twenty-six, on so courtly a point as paying his Majesty's debts and enabling him to bribe higher, is, I think, a very strong one; and, although I am sorry to observe the national importance of a question seldom makes so much difference in votes in the House of Lords as it does in the House of Commons, yet one must hope that it will not always be so; and if any point can detach a courtier, one should think the *Nullum Tempus* would. I entirely agree with you in thinking the times require every exertion of public spirit, and even I feel a desire attending this Bill, if it is opposed."

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* Walpole's George III., vol. iii., p. 34.

In the preceding pages a brief survey has been made of the causes which gradually compelled the Whigs to set themselves once again in opposition to the Crown. After the lapse of three-quarters of a century, the party which had placed the House of Brunswick on the throne was occupied in a contest with its representative, and some of the features of the earlier struggle between Privilege and Prerogative seemed to have revived. How much of this new controversy was owing to the divisions among the Whigs themselves, and how much to the arbitrary tendencies of the Sovereign, may be inferred from the documents already laid before the reader. But it appears here essential to point out how this collision of the Crown and its former supporters proved eventually favourable to the cause and expansion of popular freedom.

It need hardly be stated that it was to a small body of wealthy landed proprietors that the country is indebted for the Revolution of 1688; that it was *for* the people, and not *by* the people, that the great measure was accomplished; that both at the time, and afterwards, the nation at large were passive spectators of the struggles made and making in their behalf. How long this supineness might have lasted, it were difficult to conjecture. It was the King himself who stirred up that hitherto inert mass, the "people." It was he who uncogged the wheel, and set in action a power which, however beneficial its operations may have proved to the community, is not exactly the political machine one would have expected from a monarch who preferred division to combination, and mystery to fair dealing. By a personal quarrel with a profligate adventurer; by making a subservient House of Commons four times expel the notorious John Wilkes after he had been four times elected by the constituency of Middlesex; by causing the same House of Commons to declare the Court candidate, who was *not* chosen, to be the sitting member; George the Third forced, as it were, the electors to assemble in vindication of their exclusive rights to choose their own representatives. Hence, from the summer of 1769, is to be dated the first establishment of PUBLIC MEETINGS in England.

We have accordingly now arrived at an epoch in the history of the English "People"—the organisation of it as a power able and eager to control or corroborate the measures of Government. At every period of our history, indeed, the Anglo-Saxon race of these islands has exerted this privilege occasionally. But their meetings were hitherto less a constitutional instrument and adjunct than the result of immediate provocation, or of some steady chronic excitement, such as the politico-religious Revolution of 1640. If the Press be, as it is sometimes not inaptly termed, a fourth estate of the realm, public meetings may lay claim to be accounted a fifth, and these, in their present form at least, date from the opposition to prerogative begun by the electors of Middlesex, and taken up by Yorkshire and other counties of England.

The leaven thus introduced soon pervaded the lump. The King had taught his subjects that "union is strength," and they hastened to apply the lesson. The popular element was not long in assuming another form. By a natural transition, public meetings led to political combinations of a more permanent character. Before the close of this year, was established "the Society for supporting the Bill of Rights," and this was soon followed by "the Constitutional Society." The identical principle continues in full force in these our days. It is almost superfluous to adduce in evidence of this power, "the Catholic Association," "the Reform Association," and "the Corn Law League."

The freeholders of Middlesex, as the constituency the most aggrieved, took the lead in the popular manifestations of discontent. At a meeting at Mile-end, they drew up a petition to the King, in which they set forth all the infringements that had been made on the liberty of the subject since the commencement of the reign. Their example was soon followed by the citizens of London.

The annual election of Sheriffs took place on the 24th of June. That day was chosen by the Livery on two accounts. By electing the proposer and seconder of Wilkes to discharge the duties of the shrievalty, they manifested their zeal for the victim of ministerial persecution; and by petitioning at the same time, they recorded their indignation at the systematic encroachments of the Crown upon their own electoral privileges. The choice of the Livery fell upon James Townsend and John Sawbridge.

The father of the former of these gentlemen, Chauncy Townsend, had all his life been devoted to the Court. The son, a man of independent fortune, ardent temperament, and undaunted resolution, had embraced with much fervour the cause of Wilkes. He was at this time member for West Looe, was a friend and follower of Lord Shelburne, at whose house, in Berkeley Square, he was generally a guest during his stay in town. Although he was not a man of education, he possessed considerable talents, and spoke in Parliament with much natural eloquence. "He was," says Beloe, "a firm and steady friend, and so tenacious of his promise, that he would leave the remotest part of the kingdom, and the most delightful society, to attend and give his vote at Guildhall, though for the meanest individual and the humblest office. He was proud and tenacious of his dignity among the great, and of the most conciliatory affability with his inferiors. He would travel from one end of the kingdom to the other, with a small change of linen behind the saddle."

Townsend was intimate with Thurlow, Horne Tooke, Sawbridge, Oliver, and Wilkes; but before his death his connexion with them all had entirely ceased.

It was the fashion in those days for persons wholly unconnected with commerce to aspire to civic honours. Of this number was John Sawbridge. He was a country gentleman, but became successively Sheriff, Alderman, and Lord Mayor; and he represented the city in three Parliaments. He was now member for Hythe. Sawbridge had imbibed many of the republican sentiments of his sister Mrs. Macaulay, the once celebrated historian. He was indeed a staunch reformer, and brought forward every session a motion for shortening the duration of Parliament. In talents he was inferior to his colleague, but his private worth and strict integrity procured Mr. Sawbridge universal respect. "He was," says the Sexagenarian, "a perfect gentleman in his manners, and very little calculated to assimilate with those, into whose intimate society his political enmities and prejudices introduced him." *

The earliest report of this important meeting is contained in the following letter of Edmund Burke. It has neither date, address, nor signature, but was evidently written for the information of Lord Rockingham. Burke lived to regard similar demonstrations with anything but an eye of favour.

"This day I squeezed myself into Guildhall, where I remained until four o'clock; and I assure you that I am not much more than barely alive. It is very possible that the newspaper may give you a full account; but then it is possible, too, that it may not, and I know

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* Beloe's Sexagenarian, vol. ii., p. 22.

you will be desirous of some sort of idea of this extraordinary day; take such an account as I can give you while the chaise is getting ready to carry me to Barnet.

The Hall opened at one o'clock by the Recorder* attempting to speak; but as often as he repeated that attempt there arose such a prodigious concert of hissing, groaning, shouting, hallooing, as I never heard upon any occasion, or in any place. At length he desisted, and went back in despair. Sam Vaughan† upon this came forward, and in a very decent and proper speech endeavoured to persuade the Livery to hear him, as the officer who, in the necessary course of business, must open the Court. He told them that he had no intention of obtruding upon them any opinion of his own; that he stood there merely to inform them *ex officio* upon what business they were met; that it was the election of Sheriffs, &c. &c. On his concluding arose a loud and continued cry of 'Petition! Petition!' which at length subsiding a little, the Lord Mayor* began to speak, and was received with a mixture of clapping and hisses. He gave them his honour that if they would proceed to the regular business he would afterwards put any question which they thought proper. The cry of 'Petition!' still continued as vehemently as ever. Vaughan again appeared; he tied down the Mayor to his promise; he depended upon it; he advised the Hall to rely upon it; and strongly recommended to the Livery that they should first proceed to the election. The Mayor and Aldermen then withdrew, and the following *real* candidates were proposed. Several others had been drank to by the Mayor, but they were not properly candidates; indeed, the two first may perhaps come within the same description, though they are put in nomination every year.

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* Sir James Eyre. Walpole calls him an able and spirited man. He gave great offence to the citizens of London by refusing to attend to their Remonstrance; and they, to prejudice him, refused to consult him on points of law. But he was no loser, for the King raised him to the Bench as Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. "His decisions," says Sir Denis Le Marchant, in one of his notes upon Walpole's Memoirs, "are still cited with respect. The trial of Horne Tooke is the only instance when he seems, by common consent, to have made a poor figure."

† Samuel Vaughan, an eminent merchant in the city, and warmly attached to the popular cause. A prosecution was instituted against him by the Duke of Grafton on a charge of attempting to corrupt his integrity by offering to purchase the reversion of a clerkship in Jamaica. The proceedings were supposed to have been instituted from political motives. His cause was advocated by Junius, and so effectually that the prosecution fell to the ground. Walpole calls Vaughan, "a sanctified leader of the Bill of Rights."

Sir J. Hankey,† very much hissed, and not one hand;

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* The Honourable Thomas Harley, third son of Edward, third Earl of Oxford, a merchant. Member for the City. Had served successively the offices of Sheriff and Alderman. He was always a zealous anti-Wilkite. In the attempt to burn No. 45 of the North Briton, in 1763, the glass of his carriage was broken, and he himself wounded in the face by a burning brand that was thrown at him. He had also taken an active part against Wilkes's rioters at the time that several lives were lost. Harley was chief of the Court party in the city. He was, indeed, among the most active of the King's friends. For his services in these proceedings he was shortly after made a privy-councillor —the only one in his situation since the days of Sir William Wallace. In 1776, he quitted the City representation, and became member for Herefordshire, in which county he had a large estate. The first Lord Holland raised a pillar in honour of Mr. Harley at his seat in the Isle of Thanet.

† Sir Joseph Hankey, Knight; Alderman of Langbourne Ward;

Sir W. Baker,[*] very much clapped, but no hand; Ald. Plumb,[†] horridly hissed, but no hand; Ald. Kirkman,[‡] pretty well hissed, four hands; Mr. Waggoner,[§] much hissed, and no hands; Mr. Rossiter,[||] hissed more than any, and no hands; Townshend, Sawbridge, all hands, and a thunder of clapping, shouting, &c., repeated several times. It actually shook the hall, and much exceeded any idea I had ever entertained of the effect of the human voice, however exerted. After this the other officers were elected. Nothing remarkable, except that a Mr. Townshend was chosen auditor with very great applause, the word going round that he was James Townshend's brother; however, it was not so.

The Mayor and Aldermen returned to the Hall, and reported 'duly elected' on the several offices in the manner I have mentioned. Then Mr. Lovell[¶] (Chairman of the Meeting of the Livery at the Half Moon)

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banker in Fenchurch Street. He died four days after this meeting. His father and brother both Knights and Aldermen. From the latter Sir James, is descended the present Governor of the Bank of England.

[*] Member for Plympton; afterwards for Surrey. A friend of Lord Rockingham.

[†] Samuel Plumb, an Alderman of London, and friend of the Court. His name is attached to the protest against the "Address, Remonstrance, and Petition," carried in 1770.

[‡] J. Kirkman, also favourable to the Court. Plumb and Kirkman were the ministerial candidates, in 1771, in opposition to Wilkes, for the office of sheriff.

[§] George Wagner, Esq.

[||] The name of James Rossiter is also annexed to the "Protest." He died in 1773.

[¶] Michael Lovell was a merchant residing in Mark Lane, and belonged to the Society of Ironmongers. He was the author of the petition to which the Livery agreed.

made a speech; not a bad one, had it been less oratorical. Indeed, I am rather rash in saying so, for when he bawled, as a true orator ought, I did not very well hear him; when he spoke under his voice I heard him very distinctly. He ended by reading the petition. It is in substance the same as that from Middlesex; but I think it brings it more home to the King's Ministers, not the present only, but the past; and calls for redress in very strong terms. It has all the absurdities of the Middlesex petition, but I think (as well as I could hear it), that it is a more direct attack, better pointed, and in most places better expressed; but it is impossible for me to judge with any degree of precision. When the petition was read, the Mayor came forward and desired an alteration in the Bill,—'The Lord Mayor and Livery,' by leaving out the words 'Lord Mayor.' There was some hissing; however, Mr. Pearson read it so altered, and then a motion was made, that the Mayor and Sheriffs be desired to deliver the petition to the King, and that the *four* members be requested to attend the Mayor. Ladbroke * came forward, and, after a good deal of clapping and hissing, he told them that he spoke merely to signify his intention of obeying their commands. The applause was then general and unmixed. Beckford made his usual speech—short Parliaments—every article of the petition true—some articles true—most articles true—all that he had heard true—heard very little—his duty to obey any commands of his constituents, provided they are wise and reasonable commands, and so forth. However, one expression he did use, which I think bold—'that all our misfortunes arose from a corrupt and venal Parliament.' Trecothick then spoke; but I did not hear a single word. The applause, however, was as full as if all had been heard. It was, indeed, very great, and nothing but that given to Beckford could exceed it. On the question for the petition there was not a single hand against it. One man, indeed, attempted to make a speech in opposition to it, but his voice was drowned in a cry to throw him off the hustings. Thus it was carried with all possible triumph and exultation. The conduct and management was able; and except the clamour of applause and censure, nothing resembling tumult, considering the assembly and the occasion. If the Ministry can stand this, the people have no influence. The thanks of the Hall were given to the Mayor and the *three* members. The petition leans very heavily on the use of the military."

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* Sir Robert Ladbroke was Lord Mayor in 1747, and in the next election, member for the City. A zealous advocate of the Court. He died in 1773.

After an almost total secession from business for nearly three years, and at a moment when he was considered physically and morally incapable of taking any further part in State affairs, Lord Chatham re-appeared upon the political stage. "He himself," writes Walpole, on the 7th of July, "*in propriâ personâ,* and not in a strait-waistcoat, walked into the King's levee this morning, and was in the closet twenty minutes after the levee." Towards the end of the same month he gave other signs of his recovery. Burke, writing to Lord Rockingham on the 30th of July, says—"Before I conclude, I ought to tell you that Lord Chatham passed by my door on Friday morning in a jimwhisky drawn by two horses, one before the other; he drove himself. His train was two coaches and six, with twenty servants, male and female. He was proceeding with his whole family (Lady Chatham, two sons, and two daughters) to Stowe."*

This visit to Stowe, mentioned by Burke, had for its object a reconciliation between him and his two brothers-in-law, from whom he had been estranged ever since he formed his motley Administration.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE HON. CHARLES YORKE.

Wrest, *July* 30*th*, 1764.

"Dear Brother,

I was glad to hear from your own pen that vacation was begun. I think you Messrs. de Robe should have poor Hall's verses on that subject set to music and performed as a birthday ode, whenever the anniversary returns.

* * * *

I made a visit last week, pursuant to an engagement of some standing, to Stowe. Lady Grey and Bell were with me. The place more than answered expectation, and has been greatly improved since I saw it. The noble owner was very polite and obliging. He expected Lord and Lady Chatham as yesterday, and seemed pleased with the idea of a perfect agreement *private and public*, in that family. I collected from what he let drop that he was to have his account of the conference by an *ore tenus* rather than by *letter*. Mr. Grenville was to come over from Wotton, which will have been his first interview with Lord Chatham since the last breach amongst them. Jack [*] has picked up a pretty good account of the late *audience*. I hear Lord Camden has had a long one; but that is a Cancellarian usage, to go into the closet just as vacation begins. *Idem Pyrrhus factitavit;* [†] I augur nothing from it. The great man declares he will attend Parliament."

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* Correspondence, vol. i. p. 182, 183.

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[*] Hon. John Yorke, Lord Harwicke's brother.

[†] "Idem hocce Pyrrhus factitavit."
TER. *Eun.*, Act. iv. sc. 7. lin. 13.

CHAPTER V.

STATE OF POLITICAL FEELING.—CHARACTER OF MR. LEE.—MR. WEDDERBURN.—MIDDLESEX PETITION.—LETTERS FROM MR. EDEN, THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM, EDMUND BURKE, VISCOUNT KEPPEL, LORD STOWELL, LORD THURLOW, ARCHDEACON PALEY, LORD ERSKINE, EARL FITZWILLIAM.

THE feeling which displayed itself so strongly at the Guildhall in favour of petitioning the King to dissolve the Parliament, soon extended itself to the provinces, and was eagerly adopted by the county of York. Walpole remarks that Lord Rockingham and his friends had resisted an example so inconsistent with the principles of liberty, as appealing to the Crown against the House of Commons; but their resistance was not stubborn enough to hold out against popularity. What Lord Rockingham and his political associates really thought at that important crisis will be seen in the following letters :—

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO MR. DOWDESWELL.

September 19*th*, 1769.

"DEAR DOWDESWELL,

* * * *

You would observe, in the letter I wrote to Burke, that the idea of a petition to Parliament arose in part from some expressions in Sir Anthony Abdy's letter. I have since received a letter from him, in which he says, after the fullest deliberation and consideration, he sees no proper way of proceeding in this crisis but by petition to the Crown for dissolution of Parliament, &c.

In my letter to Burke, I said, one objection to that mode arose here—from *the where* that mode was first set. I should, indeed, have added, not only *the where*, but *the what* that petition was; for in truth the farrago included in that petition was of much detriment, and threw the colour of its being a wild, passionate proceeding, though in the very essential matter well founded.

I have also, since I wrote, received a state of the proceedings in the House of Commons in the year 1701, and of which I think I can make *here* good use; so that, upon the whole, I have no difficulty in my own decision in approving the mode of petitioning the Crown, as being the only adequate and proper measure, and indeed I have as little doubt that, on discussion, it will appear so to all in this county.

I don't find that any attempt of opposing will be attempted by Administration, or any others, at the meeting at York. I wish there had, as I *then* should certainly have gone, and we should have had, I believe I may safely say, a most triumphant victory.

As matters stand, I am sure I locally judge right in not going. There will be present full enough to do the business, and they will like *the appearance* of its being their own act, and would think that *my* being present might so far lessen the weight of the proceeding, as that it would be attributed in part to personal friendship and opinion, and not to the genuine spirit for the Constitution with which those present were actuated.

Mr. Wedderburn and Lee left me the day before yesterday. We have sketched out a petition, but altogether I don't think it runs well; I have sent you a copy, and wish you would look it well over, and see whether the plan is right, and whether you would advise any and what alterations. The time presses. * * * Lee was chose yesterday Recorder of Doncaster. I enclose you the minute of the vote of the Corporation, &c. I think it has been well managed, and will have a good effect hereabout, just at this juncture.

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ROCKINGHAM."

"The Recorder of Doncaster"—an estimable man, a zealous Whig, and a sound constitutional lawyer—claims for himself more particular notice. This I am enabled to furnish by the kindness of Mr. Lee's living representatives, who have granted me access to his papers. His own letters are, indeed, few in number; but those addressed to him by many of the most distinguished men of his day will show in what high estimation the Recorder was held. "The family of Lee has been of considerable standing and influence in the town of Leeds since the early part of the sixteenth century."*

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* This and other passages within inverted commas, are extracts from a short biographical memoir of Lee, drawn up by his widow.

None of its members, however, attained to such contemporary eminence as John, or, as he was popularly called, "honest Jack Lee."

John Lee, the youngest of ten children, was born in the year 1733, and, by his father's decease in 1736, was left an orphan at the early age of three years. In his mother, however, he possessed an equally tender and sagacious guardian, and apparently inherited from her his superior abilities. "She was," says the manuscript biography, "a woman of superior talents and great virtues. Mrs. Lee continued as she had been educated, a Protestant Dissenter; but she nevertheless designed her son for the Established Church—a determination in which she was somewhat influenced by her intimate friend, Archbishop Secker."

But, although a strictly religious man, Lee's spirits were too boisterous, his manners too blunt, and his wit was too little under control, for the clerical profession; these qualities, however, combined with social habits, great powers of conversation, and a logical intellect, pointed out to him the law as his profession. His instincts were too strong to be resisted. He entered at Lincoln's Inn, and, on being called to the bar, made choice, as a born Yorkshireman, of the Northern Circuit. His commencement, like that of Pratt and of so many lawyers subsequently eminent, was extremely unpropitious. Dining one day with his friends, Davenport and Wedderburn, Lee declared that "he found a prophet had no honour in his own country, and that, as he never received a single guinea in York, he would shake the dust off his feet, and leave it the next morning, never to return again."

As soon as he left the room, Davenport and Wedderburn concocted a brief together, which they entitled, "The King against the inhabitants of Hum Town, for not repairing a highway," and sent it with a guinea to Lee's lodgings. When Wedderburn met Lee in the circuit room in the evening, he expressed surprise at seeing him. Jack replied, "I was just shaking the dust off my feet, when lo! a brief is brought me," and showed the indictment of "the King against the inhabitants of Hum Town." "Ah!" said Davenport, "they brought me a brief in that case with a bad guinea, so I returned it." Lee showed his guinea; Davenport put it in his pocket, and told him the hoax had been played upon him, that his friends might have the benefit of his company a little longer at York. "Though," says Lord Eldon, who tells the story, "Lee was a very good-tempered man, he never forgave the joke."

"But he did not go next morning?" inquired Miss Forster, Lord Eldon's niece. "No," was the reply, "he did not; and he led almost every cause, but that was the beginning."

That Lee possessed extraordinary skill and learning in his profession is attested by Lord Eldon and other contemporary and junior members of the Northern Circuit. His ready eloquence and humour were equally serviceable in leading a jury or cross-examining a witness. "Of John Lee," said Lord Eldon, in his anecdote-book, "I love to indulge in the remembrance. To me he was most kind in my younger days. He was a very powerful cross-examiner of a witness. I remember a witness remonstrating against the torture of his cross-examination. The man, who was clothed in rags, said, 'Sir, you treat me very harshly, and I feel it the more because we are relations.' 'We relations, fellow!' said Lee, 'how do you make that out?' 'Why,' said the man, 'my mother was such a person, and she was the daughter of such a man, and he was the son of a woman, who was the daughter of the person (naming him) who was your great-great-grandfather.' 'Well,' said Lee, 'you are right; he was so. And then, my good cousin—my good fourth or fifth cousin—speak a little truth, I beseech thee, for the honour of the family, for not one word of truth, cousin, hast thou spoken yet.'" *

The most distinguished among Lee's early friends and professional brothers was Alexander Wedderburn, afterwards Earl of Rosslyn. Lee did not, indeed, estimate his friend's legal knowledge very highly. "What little law," he used to say, "Wedderburn takes in at Newcastle, it runs through him before he gets to York." But, if superior to his Scotch coadjutor in legal skill, Lee was devoid of Wedderburn's invaluable gift, in a worldly sense, of an accommodating conscience, and consequently was outstripped by the latter in their forensic race. Wedderburn, to use his own words, which he applied to another, "after having been bitten by the tarantula of opposition, was cured by the music of the Court," and

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* Twiss's Life of Lord Chancellor Eldon, vol. i. p. 107.

attained the woolsack and an earldom. Lee was of sterner stuff, and died a commoner.

Mr. Lee was married to Miss Hutchinson. By this union he became the possessor of Staindrop, an estate in the neighbourhood of Darlington. He soon became much attached to his new place. The present gardener at Staindrop, who was a boy in the counsellor's time, tells the following anecdote of him :—A friend was warning him of the expense he would incur, not so much in the building as in the expense of keeping up so large a range of hot-houses. "Why, the bark alone," said his friend, "will cost you a fortune." "If it does," said he (he was still practising at the bar), "I will go to London and *bark* for more."

Lee was much employed in advocating that all-absorbing subject, the "rights of the freeholders" to choose their own representative. On the 29th of April, Sir George Savile presented a petition from some of the electors of Middlesex against the return of Colonel Luttrell, and a hearing was allotted on the 6th of May. Whitaker and Graham appeared for Luttrell; Adair and John Lee for the petitioners. The House sat till half-past two, and Luttrell's seat was confirmed by 221 against 152. No report has been preserved of Lee's speech, but that it made a considerable impression is shown by the following letter.

MR. COULTHURST TO MRS. LEE.

"Dear Madam, Leeson Green, *May 9th*, 1769.

I have this morning had the whole history of what passed yesterday in the House of Commons: no man, you may rely on it, ever gained so much honour in it as our friend has done. Lord Lyttleton, Lord Temple, and a vast many of the first personages in this kingdom are striving to pay him honour, and courting his friendship; and it is universally allowed, no man ever conducted a weighty cause half so ably, or spoke so well. I write in transport, for I think a few only feel the pleasure that I do on his account.

I am, dear Madam,
Yours most faithfully and affectionately,
M. COULTHURST."

In 1769, the Government offered Lee a seat in Parliament and a silk gown; and in 1770, a silk gown and the post of Solicitor-General to the Queen; "the former offer was repeated," but, writes his widow, "he *then* refused it, from an idea that his political principles and those of some considerable persons whom he had the honour to call his particular friends, were not consonant with the opinions of the offer; and *therefore*, it would not be right towards them, or in accordance with his feelings, to accept it; but in the year 1780, the state of the northern circuit requiring an addition of rank, he was appointed King's Counsel.

The next letter is from Mr. William Eden,* afterwards Lord Auckland.

"Dear Lee, St. James's, *August 3rd*, 1774.

Having quitted the regions of Yorkshire for those of Carlisle, I consider you as gone from Arabia Felix to Arabia Petræa; and being willing to lend you every consolation in the power of an Under-Secretary, inclose you three newspapers: they will tell you at least all that I know, and probably much more; to them therefore I refer you for the transactions of this part of the world, and proceed to scold you for keeping me in utter ignorance of what passed on Wednesday last at Durham. I had indulged myself in the expectation of receiving the above detail from you; and knowing your impartiality in all political and party subjects, had expected to be much edified by it. I am doubly sorry for your silence towards me, and for your kind communications with my brother: for I am kept in ignorance, and he will be made a patriot. Do you concur in the proposed thanks to Sir Thomas Clavering for *his* conduct in Parliament? Vane's last step will, I hope, be considered by you as an atonement for *his*.

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* William Eden was the third son of Sir John Eden. He was called to the Bar in 1769; but obtaining a seat in Parliament, devoted himself entirely to politics. He was a follower of Lord North, and held the office of Under-Secretary of State for the Northern Department. From 1778, for the remainder of his life, he was frequently employed on diplomatic missions. Eden's figure was tall and graceful; his complexion pale. His features were regular and intelligent, his manners calm, dignified, and conciliatory. As a parliamentary speaker, he was useful rather than brilliant. "Upon Eden," says Wraxall, "principally devolved the task of dissecting, answering, and refuting the arguments, calculations, or propositions, brought forward by the Government." In 1789, Mr. Eden was created Lord Auckland.

You will think the Bostonians dirty dogs; they have not shown an atom of all that spunk which you expected from them. They thought Hutchinson a tyrant—I met him on Thursday last, at the Attorney-General's—they might as well have taken a lamb for a tiger.*

Yours, very faithfully and affectionately,

W. EDEN."

I am glad to see that Sir G. Savile is giving a very complete repair to his house in Leicester Fields. It is a proof that he does not consider old London quite as a devoted city.

In the following letter Mr. Lee's blunt manner is gently alluded to.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO MR. LEE.

WENTWORTH,

Tuesday Morning, October 6th, 1778.

"MY DEAR LEE,

You have given Lady Rockingham and me a proof of your intuitive knowledge of the human heart.

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* Thomas Hutchinson, a native of New England, Governor of the province of Massachusetts. His name is well known from the petition which the inhabitants of Boston forwarded to the King praying for his removal. He had held several high and important offices in the province before he succeeded Governor Bernard in the administration of affairs in 1769. He was a man of much learning, industry, and abilities; of affable demeanour and a benevolent disposition. His "History of the Colony of Massachusetts" is a work of high reputation. The troubles of America prevented Mr. Hutchinson from ever returning to his government. He died at Brompton in 1780.

Most truly and sincerely we shall rejoice in the perfect recovery of your little daughter, and shall beg to hear it from yourself.

We can easily conceive and as readily feel for the anxious alarms that Mrs. Lee has been under. But we assert that *Councillor Lee*, though sometimes a *rough gentleman*, has as tender and as feeling a heart as any lady of the land.

I reason like the old woman of Syracuse in regard to the event of the illness of the Lord Chancellor,* though yet I don't think the comparison quite just; for I am, and have always been, much inclined to think *better* of the *man*, than perhaps all parts of his conduct would justify.

Lady Rockingham and I have both of us had colds since you saw us: we are both now again tolerably well.

I am ever, dear Sir, &c., &c.

ROCKINGHAM."

Lee was now fast acquiring a high professional reputation, but his political consequence was much enhanced by his being engaged as counsel for Admiral Keppel, upon his court-martial. The following is the letter which announced to him this event:—

THE MARCHIONESS OF ROCKINGHAM TO MR. LEE.

Wednesday night, or rather Thursday morning,
December 9th, 1778.

"DEAR SIR,

I am permitted the high honour of being the first to apprise you of your being *retained* on the side of the worthiest man and the justest cause that perhaps your zeal and integrity were ever engaged in the support of. Sir Hugh Palliser has laid *a charge* against *Admiral Keppel*, before the Admiralty, and a *court-martial* is ordered upon *him*. You will hear from the Admiral in the morning; but our anxious friendship prompts us to be earliest to call you up; and to desire you to look upon yourself as *retained* for Admiral Keppel.

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* Edward, Lord Thurlow. He was appointed the 3rd of June of this year.

I am, dear Sir,
With true regard,
Your obedient humble Servant,
ROCKINGHAM."

After Keppel's honourable acquittal he wrote to each of his three counsel, Dunning, Erskine, and Lee, enclosing to each a fee of one thousand pounds. Lee declined the fee, and in acknowledging the letter, said—"I shall preserve that letter as long as I live, and when I die I will have it transmitted to my descendants, if I chance to have any, as a memorial that I was honoured by assisting you in a cause that secures to you a noble immortality, and reflects some degree of credit even on the most inconsiderable supporter of it."*

The letter here spoken of has been most carefully preserved, and on the enclosure are the following words, in Mr. Lee's handwriting:

"1779. Memorandum.

"The notes enclosed in Mr. Keppel's letter amounted to 1000*l.* : Mr. Lee immediately returned them, with a refusal of any fee for an attendance which friendship alone had prompted him to engage in. As a memorial of that friendship, he requested the Admiral's picture."

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* Keppel's Life of Lord Keppel, vol. ii., p. 216.

The following remark has been furnished me by one of Mr. Lee's representatives:

"Sir Joshua Reynolds's picture of Lord Keppel is now the property of the heir-at-law, but is (with that of Mr. Lee, painted about the same time,) much injured by neglect; not intentional—but a mistaken veneration for 'things as they were in the days of those who are gone,' precluded the pictures from ever being moved from a situation where the sun had a very prejudicial influence."

In a letter of the 4th of March, 1780, Lord Rockingham thus ends a letter to Lee: "Pray assist me with your *sound sense and integrity;* the times require both."

On the formation of the second Rockingham Administration, Mr. Lee became Solicitor-General, and took his seat in Parliament, as member for Clithero. The following letter from one of his most attached friends, thus notifies to him his appointment:—

THE RIGHT HON. E. BURKE TO MR. LEE.

April, 1782.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

You will be too much concerned for the safety of your country and your friends, not to wish to hear of an arrangement which has been nearly concluded—I trust for the benefit of both—this evening. It is very late; the post has gone out, and Lord Rockingham is quite worn down, not having had one minute's rest from nine this morning. He sends this by an express to you. It is most essential that you should come to town immediately to assist with your advice and co-operation, at a time when indeed you are not more desired than wanted. The arrangement has not been wholly in Lord Rockingham's hands: but, upon the whole, things have turned out much better than could be expected. The law arrangement is fixed with the King, but subject to your own judgment, which we wish may be favourable to the new Cabinet, composed as it is in a manner which has given universal satisfaction. Let it not want the advantage and credit of your concurrence. Mr. Kenyon and you are named for Attorney and Solicitor-General.

God Almighty bless you, add to the credit of an arrangement, which wants nothing but your abilities and virtues to make it complete.

Ever, my dear Lee,
Faithfully yours,
E. BURKE."

"Dear Lee,—I am most anxious to see you, and I hope and trust you will comply with my wish.

ROCKINGHAM."

John Lee was a thorough party man. One of his favourite sayings was—"Never speak well of a political enemy." When the Duke of Richmond, who was the handsomest man of his day, seceded from the Whigs, at the time of the Coalition, some one asked Lee if he would not at least allow his Grace good looks? "No," was the reply, "let his new friends find it out if they will." Yet the only piece of patronage he applied for, of which his papers afford evidence, is in favour of so staunch a Tory as Dr. William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO MR. LEE.

GROSVENOR SQUARE,
Tuesday evening, half-past eight o'clock, May 14th, 1782.

"DEAR LEE,

I will forward your letter to Lord Keppel. I shall vouch that I have heard Lord Ravensworth and many others talk of Dr. Scott, the civilian, as an able and excellent man. I have a letter from Lord Keppel to-day, in which he says that he has a multitude of applications.

I have had a very severe return of pain last night. I am now pretty free, and I hope I shall continue so.

Ever your most obedient, and
Affectionate, humble servant,
ROCKINGHAM."

VISCOUNT KEPPEL TO MR. LEE.

ADMIRALTY OFFICE, *May 21st*, 1782.

"DEAR MR. LEE,

The letter from Dr. Harris, desiring permission to resign his office of Advocate to the Admiralty, has this day been read to the Board of Admiralty; and they have been so obliging as to consent to my nomination of Dr. Scott, which I rejoice much at, knowing the great satisfaction it will give you. I hope Mrs. Lee, and my little friend, are both well. I need not assure you, because I trust you are convinced of it, that

I am, most truly,
Your sincere, humble servant,
KEPPEL."

A few months later, Lee received the following letter from Dr. Scott:—

Doctors Commons, *January 3rd*, 1785.

"My dear Sir,

The kind interest which you took in my welfare on a former occasion, and to which alone I owe my station as Advocate of the Admiralty, induces me to acquaint you with a piece of news which, I flatter myself, will not be unacceptable to you,—I mean that I was this morning sworn into the office of Registrar to the Faculties. The business (such as it is) is done by deputies; it is a Patent place, and, when confirmed by the Dean and Chapter, will be for life; the value, after deputies paid, and other expenses, between 400*l.* and 500*l.* per annum. It was conferred upon me in the handsomest manner without any application, or any idea on my part that I was at all in the Archbishop's thoughts upon the vacancy.

When you connect the sense I must have of this favour with the prejudices of a true blue education at Oxford, you will of course set me down for a most staunch Episcopalian. I own the *jus divinum* of the hierarchy never appeared to me so rational a doctrine as at present. I could almost kiss the slipper of the Protestant Pope of Canterbury. However, I hope that will not prevent me from having the honour, which I much covet, and the pleasure which I hope I shall not unfrequently enjoy, of seeing a Presbyterian pipe smoked at Doctors Commons.

Brother Jack* is gone to kill Yorkshire hares. I beg leave to present respectful compliments to Mrs. Lee, though I have not the honour of being personally known to her, and am, dear Sir, with great regard,

Your most faithful friend and servant,

W. SCOTT."

Soon after the death of Lord Rockingham, in July, 1782, the three following letters were written:

JOHN LEE, ESQ., TO LORD ASHBURTON.

"MY LORD,

I owe it to the friendship with which your Lordship has long honoured me, to signify to you any decision I have made that may be of importance to myself, and that you should not receive the first intelligence from a newspaper. I am at this moment writing a note to the Lord Chancellor, praying to resign my office of Solicitor-General, and you, who have known of how little consequence I have always professed to hold place or profit, cannot wonder that after the present political revolution, I should feel myself uneasy in the present situation, and resolved to quit it.

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* Afterwards Earl of Eldon.

In office or out of office I bear about me the kindest sentiments towards your Lordship, and am still,

Yours,

J. LEE."

JOHN LEE, ESQ., TO LORD THURLOW.

"MY LORD,

If I should casually come into your thoughts, I think it will naturally occur to your Lordship, that after the death of one excellent friend, and the secession of a great many others from public employment, it cannot be an agreeable thing to me to remain longer in office. May I presume so far on your Lordship's kind friendship to me (of which I have had ample experience), as to request that your Lordship will present my most humble duty to his Majesty, and signify my desire to resign my office of his Majesty's Solicitor-General.

I have the honour to be,
With the greatest respect,
Your Lordship's much obliged and faithful
humble servant,

J. LEE."

LORD THURLOW TO MR. LEE.

"DEAR LEE,

It would be flattering you, and I know how much you would desire that if I should tell you, that even the suspicion of your resigning occurred to me. The natural current of my mind, certainly does not lead either to the acceptance or resignation of a public situation on general grounds or personal considerations; on the other hand, I don't mean to question the propriety of the part you take. No man is more entitled to credit for honourable motives; and if your resolution is fixed it will be for you to judge of the ground, and my part, with great regret, to lay it before his Majesty. In the mean time I should ill correspond with the friendly sentiments you are so good as to entertain for me, if I abstained from expressing a wish to converse with you, before I am to represent your wishes to his Majesty. I am going out of town till Monday, and shall be happy if you can dine with me upon that day or Wednesday. I hear you don't set out upon the circuit till Friday.

I am, with great regard,
Your most faithful friend and humble servant,
THURLOW."

The next letter has reference to the formation of the famous Coalition Administration. Some of the statements contained in it are, I believe, new to the public.

THE RIGHT HON. E. BURKE TO MR. LEE.

"MY DEAR SIR,

After a hundred breakings off and renewals of this tedious and perplexed negotiation, things seem at last to pitch and settle upon some sort of bottom.

Last night the Duke of Portland saw the King, to let him know that he could not settle an arrangement with Lord North. The difficulty was on Lord Stormont's being President of the Council. It was, indeed, intended from the beginning that he should be so; but as he peremptorily refused it, and denied to the Secretary of State; and the Duke of Portland standing firmly against it, both with Lord North and the King, the whole business with him seemed to be off. In consequence of his being supposed out of the question, the arrangement took another form and Lord North was to be Secretary of State, and to go into the House of Peers. This, for one, I thought exceedingly proper in many points of view. But he proposed Lord Stormont again as President of the Council, and got him to consent to it. This was disliked, and the whole broke off, though with good humour on all sides. The Duke of Portland let the King know last night that all was at an end. It did not appear that his Majesty bore this disappointment with remarkable impatience. As soon as it was divulged, the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Fox's most weighty and confidential friends were exceedingly dissatisfied. They thought the time absolutely called for an Administration, and if they secured the leading posts, and a majority in the Cabinet, they could not with any decency refuse on account of the arrangement of a single person in a place of not any great consequence in the execution of any measure; especially as they had originally accepted him in that very place on account of which they then broke off. This was strongly represented and I believe felt. Indeed the only reason for the interruption of the negotiation was the extreme dislike expressed by many of the Duke of Portland's friends at the mention of him. But several of the warmest of them cooled by degrees, and were seriously apprehensive of a breach on such a subject; others are still discontented, and will be so, whatever is done. The Cabinet plan, and that alone, is settled, and laid before the King; but he has not yet given an answer. It is: the Duke of Portland, First Lord of the Treasury; Lord John Cavendish, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Charles Fox and Lord North, Secretaries of State; Lord Keppel, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Stormont, President; and Lord Carlisle, Privy Seal. Fox thinks the latter a sure friend. Indeed Lord North has hitherto acted perfectly well. He has naturally endeavoured to strengthen himself, but he has very just ideas of the support the Duke of Portland ought to have, and, I believe, means to support him with fidelity and manliness. One great man is not in good humour, some warm friends a little wrong-headed, and the people who are out violent. But, on the whole, I think the arrangement as good as in the circumstances could be expected. If we had more you should have it. Mrs. Lee is here and well. I write from Lady Rockingham's. Adieu. God preserve you till you come to our assistance.

Yours ever,

E. BURKE."

When the Coalition Ministry was formed, John Lee was again appointed Solicitor-General, and on the death of Mr. Wallace, at the latter end of 1783, he became Attorney-General. On the dismissal of the Duke of Portland he resigned with the rest of his political friends.

"Although," says the biographical memoir already quoted, "Mr. Lee had not attended to the study of divinity as a profession, he pursued it as a duty. He was perhaps almost, if not altogether, as conversant in it as *that* to which he had devoted himself. It was his favourite pursuit."

Mrs. Lee's statement of her late husband's attention to religious subjects is fully corroborated by the following letter from the great champion of Christianity, William Paley:—

THE DEAN OF CARLISLE TO MR. LEE.

Carlisle, *Tuesday, April* 12*th*, 1785.

"Dear Sir,

Had my book* owed me anything, which I have very truly declared in the preface that it does not, I should have thought it amply made up to me by the satisfaction I receive from the testimony with which you are pleased to honour it. The interests of morality and religion are never so successfully recommended as when they appear to be the serious concerns of men of eminent abilities and unquestionable integrity. I know no one who has manifested more of that concern, or whose opinion and example possess more authority, or do more good than yours. It was on this account that I took the liberty of putting my book into your hands; and it is on this account that I place the highest value on the approbation you are so kind as to express of its contents.

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* Paley's Evidences of Christianity.

The Deanery House at Carlisle is perfectly capable of accommodating two gentlemen with distinct apartments, without any inconvenience or interference with each other. Mr. Edward Law does me the favour of occupying at the assizes one of these apartments; and if you would accept the other I should esteem myself much honoured; as my family are always in the country at that time of the year, I can promise you the complete liberty of lodgings, with perhaps more quietness to yourself and more room for your clients.

I am, dear Sir,
With very great regard, your sincere and obliged
humble servant,
W. PALEY.

THE HONOURABLE THOMAS ERSKINE * TO MR. LEE.

LONDON, *February 8th,* 1793.

"DEAR LEE,

I was very sorry to hear by Mrs. Erskine's letter from Mrs. Lee, that you have been, and are still, not quite well. Except for the cause and the loss of your friendly and pleasant society, I do not wish to see you here, so completely broken up is all the ancient harmony which used to make even unsuccessful politics a delight. Everything is hollow and disjointed. Except Honest Charles,* and a few of us, who still support him, and hope and believe the Duke of Portland in his heart, though not *wholly* in his conduct.

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* Of the Hon. Thomas, afterwards Lord Chancellor, Erskine, Lord Campbell has left me nothing to tell. Yet I cannot pass over in silence the recollections of three agreeable days which I spent with that highly gifted man, at an Holkham sheepshearing in the summer of 1819. The remembrance proves to me how skilfully my friend Lord Campbell

We are now plunging for nothing, or rather for mischief, into a calamitous war in combination (*not*

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has sketched the portrait of the wittiest and most eloquent of Lord Chancellors. Erskine had, as the Chief Justice mentions, a large share of egotism: both his manner and his language, indeed, displayed an excess of self-consciousness. Yet I question whether any one who sat under the shower of Erskine's puns, epigrams, and anecdotes, ever wished him less engrossed with himself. On the occasion I have mentioned, when Lord Erskine rose to acknowledge "his health," some curiosity was felt how one so ignorant of husbandry in general as to have already mistaken a field of wheat for a field of lavender, would acquit himself in addressing an assembly of country gentlemen and farmers. After-dinner speeches do not bear transplanting, particularly after the lapse of upwards of thirty years; yet one or two passages, imperfectly remembered, may afford a sample of his bucolics.

On rising, he pointed in the direction of the sea, and said, in allusion to his early profession of a sailor, "After having witnessed the skilful ploughing of this morning, I am reminded of yonder wide field which I ploughed during the first years of my life." Remarking on the disinclination of farmers to adopt new experiments, he exclaimed, "I remember, my friends, what was said to Mr. Caswell. 'Mr. Caswell, your name would be *as well* without the C.' Be not content to be *as well*, but strive to be better. Follow Mr. Coke's example—go on and improve." Oyster-shells were at that time considered a good manure. Erskine said: "We lawyers have been accused of eating the oysters and giving the shells to our clients. But are we not thereby conferring a benefit by bestowing upon them what imparts so much fertility to the soil."

* Charles Fox.

avowed) with the despots of the north, to restore monarchy in France. And as it is the cause of kings, our prince is drawn into it, and has taken his leave of all of us. For my own part I have made my mind up. I will work for five years longer, and then pack up and settle in America, where I can plant my whole family, numerous as it is, in the road to virtue and independence, instead of leaving them to eat the bitter fruits of the follies we are now engaged in.

I send you Gurney's copy of my speech for Paine, which I cut out of the book, and I ever am, with kind compliments to Mrs. Lee,

Your affectionate friend,

T. ERSKINE."

The preceding letter suggests more than one grave reflection, particularly at a period in many respects so analogous to the commencement of the disastrous time here alluded to. It predicts some of the evils of that insane epidemic which urged England into an unnecessary and costly war. The terror inspired by the French revolution parted mind from mind. The former colleagues no longer stood side by side in their resistance to an arbitrary minister, and his yet more arbitrary master. Burke and Windham looked coldly upon Erskine and his friend "Honest Charles." The evil was not confined to personal discussion and the disruption of parties. The nation itself was divided against itself, and the clamour of panic prevailed over the voice of reason. We now look back upon this disastrous time through an avenue of triumphs, but the brightness of the end should not shroud from our view the precipitation, the injustice, and the recklessness of the beginning. It is the one great blot in the career of Edmund Burke that he fanned the flames of this delusion beyond any man of his time. It is the peculiar glory of Fox, Erskine, and the stedfast, untainted remnant of the Whig party, that from the first they protested against the policy, justice of the war, and the propriety of interfering with the internal relations of a foreign state. May the blood and treasure of England not have been spilt in vain—may she at least profit by her dearly-bought experience—and while she preserves diplomatic relations with whomsoever may represent the executive governments of the continental nations, may she at the same time avoid manifestation of a preference for any of the factions that may for a time happen to be in the ascendant.

Writing to the Rev. Christopher Wyvill, in November 1792, Mr. Lee says:—"My health has been for a long time very weak and very precarious owing to a wrench got long ago by a sudden start of a horse." This unfortunate accident laid the foundation of a cancer which terminated his existence on the 5th of August, 1793. Lee had been prevailed upon to consult a celebrated medical practitioner in Newcastle in the later stage of his disease. This gentleman, though a pattern of veracity on all occasions, had made it a rule never to risk the shock which his patients might experience on being told that he was destitute of hope of their recovery. Upon opening his waistcoat in order to afford Mr. Ingham an opportunity of examining his side, the latter although led to speak cheeringly and encouragingly, his patient replied: "Mr. Ingham, I have studied the human countenance too long not to read your real opinion in yours. I see perfectly what it is." And when he left the room, he (Mr. Lee) observed, "That man has signed my death warrant."

"His friendships, liberality, and moderate spirit," writes his widow, "need not be enlarged on. It is recorded of Petrarch and Xenocrates, that, in the public assemblies of their respective countries, their *word* had been accepted when from others an *oath* was required. So, when Mr Lee was called upon in a particular matter in the Court of King's Bench, and proceeded to make affidavit, the Court declined, being pleased to declare that *his word* was sufficient."

Two days after his death the late Earl Fitzwilliam addressed the following letter to Mr. Lee's kinsman, the Rev. Mr. Addison:—

EARL FITZWILLIAM* TO THE REV. MR. ADDISON.

WENTWORTH, *August 7th*, 1793.

"THE melancholy event which your letter announces to me, gives me infinite concern: among the numberless admirers of the open, ingenuous, and honourable public character of Mr. Lee, and among those attached to the amiable and social virtues of his private life, not one is to be found more an admirer of the first, nor more attached to the latter, than I have always been : he is a great loss in both points of view. I cannot offer any sentiments of condolence to Mrs. Lee more properly than through you, to assure her that I most truly sympathise in her feelings upon the loss of so inestimable a man. I trust that as she must have long foreseen the sad event, she is prepared to bear it with fortitude, and that

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* William, fourth Earl Fitzwilliam, was born in 1748. He received his education at Eton, having for a schoolfellow Charles Fox, with whom he ever after maintained the closest friendship. Brought up in the principles of the Constitution, Fitzwilliam devoted his whole life to the maintenance of the liberties and to the promotion of the interests of his country. One only error he appears to have committed in his long political career. He supported Pitt in the war with France. It was with reciprocal pain that Fox and Fitzwilliam found themselves at issue on such a vital question. Yet this difference of opinion did not,

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as in the case of Burke and so many others, impair the mutual regard of these two friends. Lord Fitzwilliam used frequently in after life to deplore this temporary severance from his political coadjutors. But he was, to the last, convinced that if Fox had been minister, he would have been utterly unable to maintain peace.

In 1795, Fitzwilliam was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He accepted the office in the hope that, by extending the privileges of the Roman Catholics, and by introducing an impartial system of government, he might restore the alienated affections of the people to their sovereign. As a means to this end, the Lord Lieutenant proceeded to dismiss the " King's friends," and to supply their places by a more virtuous set of politicians. His Excellency even aspired to remove a Beresford from office. The result may have been anticipated. The Lord Lieutenant was recalled, and the dismissed official restored to his seat at the Board of Excise.

The day of Lord Fitzwilliam's departure from Dublin was hailed as one of national misfortune, and the inhabitants took every means of manifesting their gratitude, their sorrow, and their disappointment. The shops were all closed. The people dragged the carriage to the place of embarkation. The name of every friend of Fitzwilliam was received with loud approving cheers, and of every opponent with groans and execrations.

Lord Fitzwilliam's disposition was generous and amiable, and his manners singularly engaging. He died in 1833, at the advanced age of eighty-five.

she has under this affliction the comfort of seeing Miss Lee in a state of good health. I hope you will not think it too much trouble to let me hear how Mrs. and Miss Lee are in the course of a few days. I shall not fail to communicate to Lady Rockingham this event, which I am sure she will hear with the greatest concern, as I well know the sincerity of her esteem for our poor friend.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM."

In reference to the approaching Yorkshire County Meeting the writer of the following letter has clearly defined the relation in which a member of parliament stands towards his constituents in such assemblies:—

SIR GEORGE SAVILE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Rufford. *Sunday, September 24th,* 1769.

"My Lord,

With regard to the business of the 27th, I have been so far selfish as to consider, perhaps, more what part I had to take, than the whole scope of the question, and what was the best method for the *constituent* to pursue. I do not think, indeed, that I am properly to be called upon in that question. It is not, I think, in my department. I have already endeavoured to mark this distinction, when I explained my reasons (at the George) for not going to the Sheriff, the business being to inquire into a transaction of the House of Commons, and to seek for a remedy to a supposed grievance which the constituents labour under from the act of their representatives; I am not properly of that meeting (I might be so in Nottingham?). I shall *attend* that meeting. It is plain they might do some acts in which I could not join; viz., instructing, approving, or disapproving their members.

When attending (as I expressed it, below the bar) my post and office will not be to lead or advise, or I think even support any proposition; but I am in duty bound, as their delegate returned from his errand, to state any part of the transaction that might be desired, or explain any distinction or point on which the argument turned, or the like. I think too, and without a doubt, after the best judgment I can form, that they have a right to my opinion, and that I have no within-door secrets to keep. I think I might state what remedies are in their choice and leave them to judge which is best (for it is their business): I think I might even state reasons for the different modes, and I might certainly obviate objections that have been made to any. I have in my eye particularly that objection to petitioning the K(ing) for dissolution; viz., that it is against the stream of the Constitution to call on the Crown for help against the House of Commons, and that trying to lessen the power of the House of Commons is always lessening liberty. I cannot at present think of any modes but the following:—

Petition to the King for dissolution; to the House of Commons for a rehearing; instructions to their members, or both these, or some other mode of merely manifesting their sentiments.

With regard to the first, one thing has occurred to me, which strikes me as very essential, and that is, that if they petition the King at all, it should be in *direct terms*, and very *explicitly*, for *dissolution* and nothing else. For it would be dangerous, as it appears to me, to suggest that the King could help them any other way. I do not mention this as a point I am positive in. I think in my own mind, as I did at York, that there is no remedy direct, absolute and full to the point, but petition for dissolution; but it is a point of discretion in the Doctor, whether no previous method can be tried before amputation. I rank all the other ways amongst these prudential previous methods. It is in their discretion to judge of this prudence; only, if petition to Parliament be first tried, they must not quite say that by — they will do the other, if the House of Commons does not comply. That would be a *jumper*.

That the business should be confined to the *one point* is indubitable.

My opinion if required is this: that the House of Commons has not affected to assume to itself the power of making the law of incapacities, (although in effect we have done something plaguy like it).

That we have not gone out of our jurisdiction or competence in adjudging a question of capacity.

(For a jury is *competent* to hang an innocent man.)

But, exercising our legal jurisdiction in a matter where we are competent, and without appeal to any other court, we have decided the cause, plump, plump, plump, against law.

That this is not only in defiance of Mr. Wilkes's right, but it being a *just* consequence from these false premises, that the *Free-holders* forfeited, *pro hâc vice*, their voices; *they* were concluded by a *re acta inter alios*. And this, *virtually* unheard; because, although they were *actually* heard, yet they were put down with this answer, that the premises, viz.; the incapacity, was already settled, and the conclusion, the loss of their voices, was inevitable (which was indeed true). Charles Fox therefore argued; "the murder was done."

That, under this illegal sentence (till somehow erased) Mr. Luttrell must as surely sit, and as rightfully, as Jack Ketch must hang the innocent man. *For the Court from which there is no appeal hath adjudged it.*

But the Constitution furnishes a redress, and but one. I mean absolutely to the point, for as I said before, the other methods may be first tried, and the Court may reverse its sentence.

Yet there is a difficulty in this, because although the House is bound to its decree no longer than the Session, yet the matter of the decree reaches to the whole Parliament, and it would make strange work in election causes if they could do and undo for six Sessions together, the decision of the first Session of a Parliament.

Suppose on a vacancy and new election, the House was next Session to vote that the right of election at Preston was diametrically opposite to what they voted last Sessions (I put an impossible case because of the Act of Parliament), would they replace Sir F—— S—— and Sir P—— L——?

I think I have mentioned everything almost that seems material to me at present, much of it certainly improper for the kind of assembly I expect. What I am to do must in great measure be determined on the spot, and after all it is more than probable that it won't be my fighting day, and that I shall, as generally happens, not execute any one idea I go thither with. But these are my ideas as they stand now.

G. SAVILE."

A public meeting was held at York on the 27th of September, and a petition to the Crown praying for "a new choice of representatives," was signed by above ten thousand freeholders. A letter from Sir George Savile to his brother-in-law, Serjeant Hewitt, contains an account of the proceedings.

SIR GEORGE SAVILE TO SERJEANT HEWITT.

October 2nd, 1769.

"The number of persons at the meeting is differently guessed at; but I fancy eight hundred is as near the mark as any, and the property very considerable. Sir George Armitage opened by requesting the two members would give an account of the transaction, their opinion upon it, and their notions of a remedy. After we had done, he moved a petition; was seconded by Sir C. Wray, and here it had like to have ended unanimous had not one person expressed a desire to be heard against it. This gave Wedderburn an opportunity of answering, which he did in a pretty long speech, and very well. Three hands were held up on the first question, but on the final one, (for we were a little irregular in debating after the question,) it was *nem. con.*

The proposed petition was then read, which is, I think in every respect by a great deal the best of any yet produced in any county: indeed, I think the only one that is correct and constitutionally to the point. A line being left out of the engrossment, it was all to copy again, so that many would not stay to sign, as it will be sent about. So I think only about 400 or 500 have signed. G(eorge) D(empster) spoke for you to Mr. Lascelles and the High Bailiff. So much for news. Now what I write about particularly, is relating to the county of Nottingham. I have had a letter for the Duke of Portland from Lord Rockingham, the purport of which is to consult him on the subject of a Nottingham petition, and he says, that if the Duke of Portland, Lord Mansfield, and some more of us are for it, it ought to be carried; and the rather, as it will be a tacit yielding to another set, who had better be battled with on such a popular point as this than at an election. You know I enter very little into these kind of schemes, but I think it is right you should be apprised of them; as to the business itself and its merits (apart from county politics), I have not a doubt about it. The only question with me would be, the probability of success. After Yorkshire has marched out, the war may be said to be begun in the north. The worst thing that can happen now, is the non-compliance with the petitions, and the number of petitions may turn the scale. The work is half done, and to stop in the middle is just the worst possible. The way I put it with regard to myself in York was thus: "I would call no meeting, nor be of any meeting, but I would *attend* the meeting to give an account to my constituents." Now in Nottinghamshire I am a freeholder and no member, and I have no objection to take an active part here, except it be the fear of success, or the being thought meddling beyond my pretensions, and that as I have made my option early for Yorkshire; I have hardly ever resided in Nottinghamshire (I mean as might have been expected had I not given myself to Yorkshire). People might say: Is not *one county enough for the fellow, but he must be thrusting his finger everywhere*, &c. &c. I cannot deliver the letter to the Duke of Portland till Tuesday (to-morrow) night, when he will, as I understand, be back from Wigan; I wish I knew who the county is inclined for, of the two: better not attempt than fail. Now I have no measure of interest here; I thought all about Retford were Court, and I had heard were angry at Sir C. Wray, and disappointed in the part he had taken. I now hear a quite different story, and that they are in general "Liberty boys" of What . . . . m; * I understand the same, which I was not aware of. About Newark I know nothing, nor Nottingham, nor Mansfield. The idea I gave Lord Rockingham of this county was, four Dukes, two Lords, and three rabbit-warrens, which I believe, in fact, takes in half the county in point of space.

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* Illegible.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE HON. CHARLES YORKE.

St. James's Square, *December 24th*, 1769.

"Dear Brother,

I remember in the course of our conversation on Thursday evening, I mentioned on memory, that an address was moved in Charles the Second's time, for the dissolution of the Parliament. You seemed to doubt it, but I have looked into the Lords' Journal of the year 1675, and find that such a motion was made, and a protest entered upon it, signed by many great Lords of that time. I have no doubt but *that* will be the method of proceeding now, after the petitions have been called for. Mr. Jenyns has heard that no notice is taken in the speech of the petitions, but some general expressions used, of the King's confidence in his Parliament, &c. Mr. Dowdeswell called on me to-day, but as I was dressing I did not see him, nor do I believe I should have learnt any thing material from him, nor should I have known what to say to him. The protest you have in the printed collection."

CHAPTER VI.

REAPPEARANCE OF LORD CHATHAM IN PUBLIC.—LETTERS FROM LORD FITZWILLIAM, SIR GEORGE SAVILE, AND THE DUKE OF PORTLAND, ON THE EVENT.—AUTHORSHIP OF JUNIUS.—LORD CHANCELLOR YORKE. — HIS DEATH.—LORD HARDWICKE TO LORD ROCKINGHAM.

After an almost total secession from business for nearly three years, and at a moment when considered physically and morally incapable of taking any further part in State affairs, Lord Chatham re-appeared on the political stage. "He himself," writes Walpole, *in propriâ personâ,* and not in a strait-waistcoat, walked into the King's levee this morning, and was in the closest twenty minutes after the levee." The "Old Whigs," who had never experienced any thing but hostility from Lord Chatham, viewed his return to public life with distrust and alarm. "If he has not been sent for," writes Burke, "it was only humbly to lay a reprimand at the feet of his most gracious master, and to talk some significant pompous creeping explanatory matter in the true Chathamic style, and that's all." But retirement had wrought a material change, if not in the sentiments, at least, in the conduct of the great Orator towards Lord Rockingham and his friends. His endeavours to crush that party, had evidently been in the expectation that the power thus subtracted from them would be added to his own share; but he discovered, when too late, that he had been a mere instrument in the hands of the Court to raise the prerogative upon their power and his own. He had thus inflicted a grievous wound upon the Constitution. Like Frankenstein, he had called into existence a flame which he was utterly unable to control. Hence, he became convinced that a thorough union between those who thought alike on political subjects could alone save the country. On his return, therefore, to public life, he sought the alliance of the Rockingham party as pertinaciously as he had formerly repelled their advance towards himself, and continued to act in unison with them, until his jealous, wayward, intractable spirit, caused him to defeat that cause which he, in common with Lord Rockingham, had so much at heart.

EARL FITZWILLIAM TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

(*November* 1769.)

"In my walks this morning, I met Lord Albemarle, and I find by his conversation, that he thinks it would be wrong for you to be any later in London than the time you at present propose; nay, his wishes are for you to be here sooner. Every one on every side is continually asking when you come.

This is the conversation Lord Chatham at present holds; whether he will maintain it or not time must show. 'For my part I am grown old, and find myself unable to fill any office of business, but this I am resolved upon, that I will not even sit at council, but to meet the friends of Lord Rockingham; whatever differences may have been between us, they must be forgotten; the state of the nation is such, that all private animosities must subside; he, and he alone, has a knot of *spotless* friends such as ought to govern this kingdom.' This conversation Lord Albemarle told me he had from the very person to whom it was originally addressed."

Upon this letter Sir George Savile remarks to Lord Rockingham:—

"As there may be a better foundation than report for the great man's phrase, yet a phrase is but a phrase, and it is, I think, too empty a matter to build any real prospect upon, of any really desirable change. '*Spotless*,' sounds very well, but it does not convey to me directly the idea of all being settled firmly and cleverly with confidence and comfortable cordiality all in a minute. Moreover, I am not politician enough to judge how desirable it is to *our friends* to come in at present, and even if it be desirable I should incline to imitate the man who sat at his door waiting for fortune than him who ran after her."

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

December 3rd, 1769.

"As to the other conversation, my friend tells me he had it from a man who saw Lord Chatham on last Friday se'nnight. He found him just recovered from an attack of the gout, but high in spirits, and *in fury*. He, Lord Chatham, said that he was *domestically* happy, but that public affairs were too blank to give anybody comfort; that the conduct of some persons in Administration had much surprised him; that he knows not what infatuation has produced such a situation of affairs. He says that he united body and soul with Lord Rockingham and Sir George Savile *in their measures* (meaning I suppose the Middlesex election); that he thinks Sir George the most virtuous character in this country, and bows to his *constitutional and private integrity;* that he will go hand in hand with Lord Rockingham and his friends, who are, and have proved themselves to be, the only true Whigs in this country. '*Former little differences must be forgotten when the contest is* pro aris et focis. The preparations of France and Spain are truly alarming—a fleet at Toulon, another at Tivoli, and England defenceless. But, sir, if they were to land on the coast of Sussex to-morrow, we will not stir a step to oppose them, till this deep wound in our Constitution is healed. Sir, I had rather be a slave to France, than to a fellow-subject.' 'Then, my Lord,' said the visitor, 'I suppose you think the Parliament may probably be dissolved?' 'May, sir? it must, it shall be dissolved.'"

During the autumn of this year Burke was occupied in preparing for publication, his ever-memorable "Thoughts on the Present Discontents:" a work setting forth the errors of Government during the first nine years of George the Third's reign; and comprising a complete manifesto of the political creed of the "Old Whigs." From Lord Rockingham's papers it appears that the pamphlet underwent the criticisms and scrutiny of the leaders of the party before it went to press. Lord Rockingham had hoped that it would make its appearance so that it might be read by all politicians in town and country, prior to the meeting of Parliament; but it was not till the 23rd of April, 1770, that it saw the light. "I think," wrote his Lordship to its author, "it would take universally, and tend to form and unite a party upon real and well-founded principles, which would in the end prevail, and re-establish order and government in the country."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO MR. DOWDESWELL.

WENTWORTH,
Saturday night, December 23rd, 1769.

"ALONG with this letter, you will receive Mr. Burke's manuscript, and the remarks I made when you was here. I have wrote to him, and enclosed the letter in this packet. I have told him, what is very true, that

I have not been able to add to my first remarks; and that I think them hardly legible, or intelligible, without your assistance, who was present when I made them.

If he is in town, which I suppose he is, I wish you would deliver him my letter, and get him to look over the remarks, &c., along with you, as soon as he could. In my letter to him I have mentioned some other particulars. I wish it was possible that this work would soon make its appearance. I am only fearful that my own delay may have made it difficult."

From the candour and moderation with which Lord Bute is treated in the "Discontents," it may be inferred that the Duke of Portland's suggestion, that "no tenderness" should be shown to the Chief of the "*Kingsmen*" was not acted upon.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

December 3*rd*, 1769.

"The manuscript Mr. Dowdeswell brought me so perfectly corresponds with my principles, and strikes so effectually at the root of the evil to which in a great measure the miserable state of the country must be attributed, that it would not fail giving me the highest pleasure: at the same time it appears to be, that prudence and policy dictate the alterations you wish; for it is not the interest of any man, who may have anything to do with the public, to hold out so absolute a thing of straw, as one character is represented properly to be, nor can I see the least reason for softening or sliding over the conduct of another. I myself can speak of Lord Bute's public avowal of the principles on which the present Court system is formed, at least eighteen years agone (a time that you will think his professions must have been remarkable to have struck so young a boy as I then was), and though he may possibly not have had sense enough to form all the plan himself, he has had villany enough to adopt it, and introduce it in a manner that perhaps nobody had the means of doing so effectually as himself. This part, therefore, as to the fact, as well as the sake of appearances, strikes me almost as necessary to be altered, for surely at the time you are declaring war and irreconcileable enmity to the whole party of *Kingsmen*, it must appear very strange to show any tenderness to their chief. As to all the hints and insinuations against other sets of people, however one may think of them privately in the present situation of things, would it not be as well to drop them entirely. If they will assist us in pulling down what we wish to see demolished, why throw any obstacles in their way? For, though I believe they do not mean to raise the same kind of edifice out of the ruins that we do, every hand is of service, and no prejudice can arise as long as they enlist (though but for a time) upon the same principles that we have professed, and to which, as a party, we owe our credit and character. What real hurt the publication can do I can't foresee: it will make you enemies: so it will, but those only that, for your own sake, you would be ashamed to call friends, except one,* who never will like you till he sees he can't go on without you, and when that is the case, if he has as much honesty as sense, he will feel and own a pleasure that he never as yet can have experienced. As to serious thinking people, men of weight and property either in a landed or commercial way, what injury can it do you in their opinions? Don't they see and feel every day the mischiefs of the present system? You join with them in their complaint; you show exactly where the sore arises and point out the remedy; nay, pledge yourselves (at least I hope the pamphlet may be understood in that light) to apply. And as to the young men of property, and independent people in both Houses, it is holding out a banner for them to come to, where, surely, interest cannot be said to point out the way, and where nothing but public good is to be sought for, on the plainest, honestest, and most disinterested terms."

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* The King.

On the 19th of December, appeared Junius's celebrated letter to the King.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO MR. DOWDESWELL.

December 23rd, 1769.

"JUNIUS's last letter, or rather his first address to his Majesty, is indeed a very animated and able performance, but rather too much of a flagellation. I should have liked it better if the turn had not been so directly to have *charged* his Majesty, but to have *conjured him to think,* and no longer to have *been led;* and in general to have put it on the foot that it was Lord Bute and the Ministers' conduct against whom the public were so exasperated, and not so directly to have attacked his Majesty, whom the public regards only as misled."

It had been my intention to offer some observations upon the still *vexata quæstio* of the authorship of Junius, but having been given to understand that an article in the December Number of the "Quarterly Review" would appear on the subject, and that a similar line of argument with my own would be adopted, I tore up my notes. While, however, my printers are waiting for "more copy," the Review in question has been placed in my hands. I there see that the authorship is given to Lord Lyttelton, of ghost notoriety. In assigning the letters to a member of the Grenville family, the opinions of the writer are thus far identical with my own. Perhaps when I have perused more carefully the article in the Quarterly, I may change my opinion; but, at present, I am unwilling to consider these letters as the work of an individual. In the early editions of Junius the frontispiece represents bees hovering round a hive. Underneath are the words, "Nos numerus sumus," a motto, intending (and, as I conceive, with truth) to imply, that more than one person was concerned in the production. According to my hypothesis, George Grenville was not the author, but the originator of the Junius letters; that he employed Mr. Charles Lloyd, his former private secretary, to convey the materials for the work to Mr., afterwards Sir Philip Francis, who dressed them up in his own language; and that, after Mr. Grenville's death, Lord Temple continued to supply matter to Francis through the medium of Mr. Lloyd until within seventeen days of the latter gentleman's death. Since that time no letter of Junius ever appeared; a circumstance that may explain George the Third's observation to General Desaguilliers—"We shall hear no more of Junius."

In speaking of the "Junius Letters," I would be understood to mean all those which are included in Woodfall's collection.

The first of these, signed "Poplicola," contains a violent attack upon Lord Chatham. It is dated April 28, 1767; that is to say, some few months after Grenville had quarrelled with Chatham because he would not appoint him first Lord of the Treasury. Poplicola, after accusing Lord Chatham of dictatorship, of artifices, intrigues, hypocrisy, and impudence, enquires "Has he a brother? That brother must be sacrificed. Has he a rancorous enemy? That enemy must be promoted.* How many years of his life have been spent in declaring against the pernicious influence of a favourite? That favourite must be taken to his bosom and made the only partner of his power." † The letter ends thus:—"Though we have no Tarpeian rock for the immediate punishment of treason, yet we have impeachments, and a gibbet is too honourable a situation for the carcase of a traitor." ‡

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* Duke of Bedford.

† Lord Bute.

‡ Woodfall's Junius, vol. ii., pp. 454—458.

While Junius thus speaks of those with whom Grenville is at variance, no terms of encomium are too high for Mr. Grenville himself. In a letter having no signature, but bearing date Dec. 19, 1767, the conduct of the Colonies is severely censured; Lord Chatham is spoken of as a "lunatic," and the rest of the letter is a fulsome eulogium of Grenville and his coercive policy.

When the Marquis of Argyle appears in the dungeon of Major Dalgetty under the name of Murdoch Campbell, and in the disguise of a serving-man, he speaks of himself as being "bountiful to his officers, and the most open hand in Scotland;" whereupon the wary soldado springs upon the disguised nobleman, with the observation, "I never heard so much good of him before."

May not Junius stand in the same relation to Grenville that Murdoch Campbell did to the Lord of Argyle.

It would be easy to multiply examples did time allow me.

I know not how the writer overthrows the mass of evidence which goes to identify Sir Philip Francis with the writings of Junius. As a counterbalance to the reputation which he thus acquired he had many mortifications to undergo, and had certainly strong motives for concealment. He was a frequent guest of Francis, Duke of Bedford, which he could not have been as the avowed libeller of that nobleman's grandfather. He used there to meet Fox, Fitzpatrick, and Hare, all of whom thought very humbly of these letters in point of style and composition, and used to express their sentiments in presence of Francis, who, I have been told, always appeared on tenter-hooks when this criticism was going forward. I have heard that, one evening at Holland House, Lady Holland desired a gentleman yet living, to ask Francis if he were the author of "Junius." Thus commanded, the gentleman asked Sir Philip if he might ask him a question. "At your peril, sir," was the reply. "Well," said Lady Holland to the gentleman, on his return, "is Sir Philip Francis, Junius?" "I don't know," was the reply, "but he is certainly *Brutus*."

At the meeting of Parliament, the proceedings of the House of Lords were much influenced by the conduct of two distinguished members of the legal profession. Charles Pratt, Baron Camden, Lord Chancellor for more than three years, and Charles Yorke, Baron Morden, Lord Chancellor for scarcely as many days.

The former of these two distinguished men was a younger son of Sir John Pratt, an eminent barrister in the reigns of William the Third and George the First, who, under the last-named sovereign, was promoted to be Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Charles was always destined for the profession of his father. The commencement of his career was not promising. For nine dreary years he went the western circuit, hardly earning sufficient to provide himself with a nag to carry him on his journey. "My losses in horseflesh," he writes to a friend, "ruin me, and keep me so poor that I have scarce money enough to bear me in a summer's ramble, yet ramble I must if I starve to pay for it." Disheartened by his want of success, he was about to quit the law and enter the Church, when he was persuaded by his friend, Robert Henley, to try one circuit more.

The next year, at the first assize town, Henley, to whom an important and popular cause was assigned, inquired of his client's attorney if he had engaged Mr. Pratt. "Who is Mr. Pratt?" asked the attorney. "The question," said Henley, "shows you to be a country practitioner. Engage Pratt directly; I would not, on any account, have a man of his abilities against me." Pratt was retained. The leading counsel was taken conveniently ill, Pratt conducted the proceedings, and, with such skill and judgment, that a shower of retainers poured upon him before he left the hall. When Pitt came into office, in 1757, Pratt was appointed by him Attorney-General, and, five years later, he succeeded Willes as Lord Chief Justice in the Common Pleas. Had Pratt received this elevation in the politically quiet days of George the Second, his fame might not have extended beyond the circuit of his own court. But prerogative Kings are the making of constitutional lawyers. The year after his appointment, John Wilkes, then member for Buckingham, was brought before him on a Speaker's warrant for a libel on Lord Bute, and was declared by his Lordship to be entitled to the privilege of Parliament, and discharged.

On his advancement to the bench, Pratt had looked for perfect repose. Writing to his poetical friend, Sneyd Davies, he says, "I remember you prophesied formerly that I should be Chief Justice, or perhaps something higher. Half is come to pass; I am Thane of Cawdor, but the greater is behind; and, if that fails me, you are still a false prophet. Joking apart, I am retired out of this bustling world to a place of sufficient profit, ease, and dignity; and I believe I am a much happier man than the highest post in the law could have made me." He lived to attain higher posts both in the law and out of it. Yet I question whether the lover of constitutional freedom will look to any period of his career with more satisfaction than to the first four years of his presiding in the Common Pleas. Writing of the affairs of 1768, Walpole says of Camden, "The Lord Chancellor's conduct was less reducible to a standard. It was not known whether his friendship with Lord Chatham was at high or low water mark. He had given many hints of his friend's frenzy, and in the resignation did not seem to have been consulted. But it was sufficient to throw some blemish on his character, that the public had any doubt of his conduct. It did not clear up as he proceeded, but was clouded with shades of interest and irresolution, and when it veered most to public-spirit was subject to squalls of time-serving, as by the Court it was taxed with treacherous ambiguity. He hurt the Court often, but rarely served it to its satisfaction, but hurt himself most by halting now and then in the career of his services to the public."

Lord Rockingham's object in raising Pratt to the peerage had been to propitiate Mr. Pitt, but with what effect will be seen by the following letter, written shortly after Sir Charles Pratt had become Baron Camden.

SOAME JENYNS TO THE EARL OF HARDWICKE.

Audley Square, *August* 31*st*, 1765.

"It is thought the distinguished commoner will stick to his former compact; and this I know by undoubted information, that Lord Camden took all opportunities, through the whole circuit, to declare that Mr. Pitt had not, nor would ever have, the least connection with the present Administration; and I have heard since I came here, but the truth I don't know, that he (Camden) would not have accepted the peerage from any of the present Ministry."

Camden's conduct indeed to Lord Rockingham was very equivocal. He rarely attended Parliament, voted against Ministers in the Declaratory Act, and was most unquestionably a party to the intrigue which drove his patron from the Treasury bench, and seated himself on the woolsack. Nor did the three years that he held the Great Seal add much to his fame. Every one must remember his high prerogative doctrine on the Embargo Indemnity Bill, and his continuance for two years member of a Cabinet from whom he dissented on such vital questions as American taxation and the Middlesex election.

The course that was taken by Lord Camden, at the opening of the Session of 1770, appears to have been expected by the Ministers. Rigby, writing to the Duke of Bedford on the 9th of November, 1769, says:—

"The guns are now firing upon the river for Lord Mayor Beckford. He will be attended by no officer of the State but the Lord Chancellor, who, I suppose, will be hallooed all through the city as a staunch friend of Wilkes. The Lord Chancellor's conduct, since our conversation in Arlington Street, has by no means justified the opinion we held at that interview by his situation; he is affectedly hostile every day to the Ministry; and has a pride in showing it. I could give your Grace many instances of it." *

The career of Yorke differed greatly from that of Pratt. The one had a hard struggle to encounter at the outset, but arrived eventually at the highest honours of the State, and died at a good old age. The other started in life with the brightest prospects; but experienced many disappointments in his professional course, and came to a premature and tragical end. Yorke had not, like Pratt, to toil till he was thirty-four before he could obtain a brief. An accomplished scholar, an able critic, an agreeable poet, a sound lawyer, the friend of Warburton, Barthélemy and Montesquieu, Yorke had obtained both legal and literary celebrity almost before he had arrived at manhood; at nineteen he was the principal contributor to the "Athenian Letters," a work of which Barthélemy, an author in the same department of literature, speaks in the highest praise. "Si je l'avois connu plutôt," said

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* An hitherto unpublished letter in the Duke of Bedford's collection.

the elegant writer of Les Voyages du jeune Anacharsis, "ou, je n'aurois commencé le mien, ou j'aurois taché d'approcher de ce beau modèle. Pourquoi ne l-a-t-on pas communiqué au public? Pourquoi ne l'est il pas traduit dans toutes les langues? Je sacrifierois volontiers mes derniers jours au plaisir d'en enrichir notre langue, si je connoissais mieux les finesses de la langue anglaise."

Yorke was called to the bar at the age of twenty; the year after, we find him telling his friend Warburton that he must forego his correspondence from the quantity of business that was accumulating upon him. He was scarcely twenty-two when he had written "the best juridical treatise that had appeared in the English language." No lawyer of his time had a more extensive practice. It is said that he received an hundred thousand pounds in fees. In 1757 Yorke was made Solicitor-General, and the following year he experienced the mortification of having Pratt placed over his head, as Attorney-General. This latter appointment he himself did not obtain till the fourth year of George the Third. The prime object of ambition to himself and his brothers was that the Great Seal might once more come into the family, in his person. But he and they were doomed to frequent disappointments. When Rockingham became Prime Minister, Northington would not quit the woolsack. In the Chatham Administration Yorke's rival, Camden, once more crossed his path, and he became, as Lord Hardwicke termed him, "the scape-goat of friends and enemies." At last a friendly premier appeared in the person of Charles Townshend, who would have bestowed the Great Seal on Charles Yorke if his own premature death had not defeated his intentions. At length, in 1770, this high office again became vacant, and this brings me to the last act of the tragedy.

The King opened the Parliament in person. After the address had been proposed and seconded, Lord Chatham moved an amendment condemnatory of the conduct of Ministers in the Middlesex election. He was followed by Lord Chancellor Camden, who to the astonishment of all but the initiated, thus addressed their Lordships: "I accepted the seals without any conditions. I meant not to be *trammeled* by his Majesty (I beg pardon), by his Ministers. I have suffered myself to be so too long." After declaring that he had beheld with silent indignation the arbitrary measures of the Ministry, he expressed his concurrence with the sentiments of Lord Chatham. As soon as the amendment was negatived, Lord Rockingham moved to summon the Lords for the next day, and Lord Pomfret, on the part of Ministers, to adjourn to that day sen'night. Lord Temple said that the delay sought was "in order to dismiss the virtuous and independent lord who sat on the woolsack, and to supply his place by some obsequious lawyer, who would do as he was commanded."

Lord Shelburne followed in the same strain. "He hoped there would not be found in the kingdom a wretch so base and mean-spirited as to accept the seals on the conditions on which they were offered."

These insinuations of Temple and Shelburne were directed against Charles Yorke, whom they foresaw the Court would endeavour to seduce from his party allegiance, and knowing his ambition and irresolution, as well as his jealousy of Camden, feared that all would combine to weaken his powers of resisting the temptation to which he would be exposed.

A meeting of the leaders of the opposition was, on the morning after the debate, held at Lord Rockingham's. It was there determined, that in order to throw the odium upon the Government of dismissing a most popular individual, Lord Camden should be requested to hold office till he was dismissed, and that they would strive to prevent any lawyer of character from accepting it. On the Thursday, the Duke of Grafton offered the Great Seal in form to Charles Yorke. He requested time to consider, and reported the substance of his conference to another meeting of Whigs, at Lord Rockingham's. The company there assembled pronounced the whole proceeding to be treacherous, and exacted a promise that he would not desert his friends. Yorke then returned to the Duke of Grafton, and declined the seals. The next day he wrote to Lord Rockingham as follows:

THE HON. CHARLES YORKE TO LORD ROCKINGHAM.

"My dear Lord, *Saturday, January 13th*, 1770.

After having been detained at Tittenhanger by a violent cold and illness, procured by riding from Highgate thither in the hail and sleet, about ten days ago, I reached London yesterday evening. This morning I am obliged to meet Lord Mansfield and the trustees of the school and chapel at Highgate, to choose a new governor in the room of old Mr. Edwards, deceased, otherwise I would wait on your Lordship. But may I beg to see you in Bloomsbury Square on my return in the evening? I propose my hour, because we shall be *alone* then; perhaps not at yours. If you allow me the happiness of an hour's talk, let me beg that you will be here at half-an-hour after eight, because I am unfit, in point of health and recovery, to bear late hours, such as your Lordship has sometimes honoured me with.

I hope you are perfectly well, and Lady Rockingham.

Always, my dear Lord,
Your affectionate and faithful
Humble servant,
C. YORKE."

On the day this letter was written, its writer was summoned to attend the King; but his Majesty was unable to shake his resolution, and wrote to the Duke of Grafton, to report his ill success.

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THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE HON. CHARLES YORKE.

Grosvenor Square,
Saturday, January 13th, 1770.

"Dear Sir,

I am exceedingly glad that I am so soon to have the pleasure of seeing you, and indeed have much wished for it. * * *

I dine alone, and don't expect any particular business this evening; so that if any time suits you from four to nine or ten, I can secure that we shall be alone and have leisure.

I am, ever, dear Sir,
With the greatest truth and regard,
Your most obedient and affectionate humble servant,
ROCKINGHAM."

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

St. James's Square, *January 15th,* 1770.

"I thank you for your communication. I see the times are running into great violences, and if so, honest men must act according to their consciences. Your Lordship will know tomorrow the resolution taken in the *great affair: great* I mean in respect of our family. I know not what *kennel* you allude to. I think all parties are getting deeper into the dirt, and I foresee nothing agreeable will arise out of it: I mean to myself.

I will send you the journals this evening. I shall very soon wait on your Lordship in *confidence.* I am not sorry (personally) for the adjournment,* as it gives time to look about. I made a *full report* to my brother of our conference this morning. He has the same friendly feelings towards your Lordship as myself.

Pray let me know if Lord Granby resigns to-day.†

I am, my dear Lord,
Your faithful and unprofitable servant,
HARDWICKE."

"P.S. Do not think I am out of sorts: I never was easier in my life: and am much obliged by your communication."

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE.
At night, January 15*th,* 1770.

"MY DEAR LORD,

I am authorised by my brother to acquaint you that he has, in a conversation with the Duke of Grafton, finally declined the seals. How far he has judged right or wrong will only be known by the consequences. I may fairly say that he, as well as his nearest relations, have been victims to the violence of party and their own moderation.

Allow me, my dear Lord, to add, that I am sorry, if in the hurry of speaking, you used the expression, that "what was doing (meaning a change of the Great Seal) would, perhaps, not be well done." I am satisfied that you meant no preference to Lord Camden over my brother; but those who are not so well acquainted with your Lordship as myself, might take the words in that sense.

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* On the motion of Lord Weymouth, the House of Lords was adjourned from the 15th till the 22nd of January.

† "The King, it seems, and the Duke of Grafton are upon their knees to Lord Granby not to resign. He remained to the Duke inflexible as to that, but has yielded for twenty-four hours." *Earl Temple to Earl Chatham, Jan.* 15*th,* 1770; *Chat. Cor.*, vol. iii. p. 391.

I am, my dear Lord,
Your faithful humble servant,
HARDWICKE."

"P.S. I am concerned in my mind that if there should be a change, which must soon appear, the first offer will go to Lord Chatham. I have some reason for saying so, but cannot explain it: it is not conclusive, but probable."

On the evening of the 16th, Yorke saw the King at the Queen's palace, and finally declined. "He appeared," said Lord Hardwicke, who saw him afterwards, "much ruffled and disturbed, but I made myself easy on being informed that he could be quiet next day, and take physic."

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

St. James's Square, *January* 17*th*, 1770.

"My dear Lord,

I thank you for your very friendly letter, whatever the *event* of things may be, but indeed I do not see how this Ministry can stand their ground. I feel a great deal more for the public *situation* than for the loss of perhaps the only opportunity that my family may have to see the Great Seal again in it.

Your Lordship is too much hurried in a morning; I will call upon you (if you please) this evening, or take a family dinner with you to-morrow, if you have no particular company.

Excuse the freedom I take, and let me know which I shall do. Remember your great ancestor!

> "One W[entworth] did for slavish tenets bleed,
> Another would for freedom lose his head."

—So sings Grub Street, but not St. James's Square.

I am, &c.,
HARDWICKE."

When Lord Hardwicke wrote the above letter, he was under the impression that his brother was in bed, "But," continues he in his journal, "that very morning, instead of taking his physic, he left it on the table, after a broken night's rest, and went to the levee, was called into the closet, and in a manner *compelled* by the King" (to accept the Great Seal). "At his return from Court, about three o'clock, he broke in unexpectedly on me, who was talking with Lord Rockingham, and gave us the account. We were both *astounded*, to use an obsolete but strong word, at so sudden an event, and I was particularly shocked at his being so overborne in a manner I had never heard of, nor could imagine possible between prince and subject."

Yorke was taken very ill the next morning, "And when," wrote Lord Hardwicke, "I saw him on the evening of the 19th, he was in bed, and too much disordered to be talked with."

After the visit to his brother's sick bed, his Lordship wrote to Lord Rockingham.

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"My dear Lord, *Friday night, January* 19*th*, 1770.

I can only tell your Lordship with the utmost anxiety and concern, that my dear and unhappy brother is much worse, and that I tremble for the event. God send me and his family strength of mind enough to bear against this too probable calamity. I abominate the Court politics, and almost those of every sort.

My poor brother's entanglement was such as history can scarce parallel.

Your Lordship's faithful and afflicted servant,

HARDWICKE."

Before the close of another day, poor Charles Yorke had breathed his last. A mystery still hangs over the immediate cause of his decease. The suddenness of the event naturally excited surmises. It was known that his death was attended by a copious effusion of blood. This was attributed to bursting a blood-vessel, and to having been bled four times. Walpole says, that "every one believed that he had fallen by his own hand, whether on his sword or by a razor was uncertain." All that Lord Hardwicke says on the subject in his journal is, that "he died that day" (the 20th), "about five in the evening."

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

St. James's Square, *January* 21*st*, 1770.

"I am much obliged by your many friendly enquiries. I am afraid I shall never recover the effects on my mind of our late grievous misfortune. Oh, my unhappy brother! Born (one hoped) to a most prosperous scene of life, and qualified to shine in it, had he lived in such times as his father did, or indeed in any not so disturbed as these.

I hope your Lordship will excuse my not seeing you for some days, and my declining to enter into any business for some time, but of a private nature, and that I am scarce equal to.

I am, my dear Lord,
Your faithful, humble servant,
HARDWICKE."

"P.S. The patent was not sealed of his peerage; it was hardly ready."

This was the patent creating him Baron Morden. "It had passed," says Lord Hardwicke, in his journal, "all the forms except the Great Seal, and when my poor brother was asked if the seal should be put to it, he waived it, and said he hoped it was no longer in his custody."

THE EARL OF HARDWICKE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"My dear Lord, *January* 30*th*, 1770.

I am very sorry that it was inconvenient for you to look in here this evening, as I propose going out of town again to-morrow, calling in my way upon Mrs. Yorke and her young family at Highgate. Indeed I cannot bring my mind to think of public business, and were my judgment less shattered and my spirits stronger than they are, I do not see that, things standing as they do, I can be of service to anybody. I shall certainly return the beginning of next week, to stay in town, and rub on as well as I can.

I am informed your Lordship gave a very handsome and affecting testimony of your regard to my poor dear brother in the House of Lords, which was worthy of your friendship for him, and your concern for so unhappy a period being put to a valuable life.

I have been told as common talk, of motions to address the King about Lord Camden's removal. That I am sure none of us can join in. If any good can be struck out for the public, I shall be heartily glad of it; if through your Lordship's *hands*, still *more* pleased; but my own happiness will consist in retirement and tranquillity.

HARDWICKE."

CHAPTER VII.

DEBATE ON THE CIVIL LIST.—UPROAR IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS. —EARL TEMPLE TO LORD ROCKINGHAM.—ALDERMAN BECKFORD ELECTED LORD MAYOR.—GRAND POLITICAL BANQUET.— EXPULSION OF WILKES.—PETITION OF THE LIVERY.—LETTERS OF THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM. —LORD GRANBY.—HIS DEATH.—DUKE OF RICHMOND'S LETTER TO THE KING.

The state of the civil list became the subject of discussion in both Houses of Parliament. On the 14th of March, Rockingham applied to the House of Lords, for the same accounts which had been moved for by Dowdeswell in the other House. In the course of the debate, Lord Chatham "drew a picture of the late King, who he said, was *true, faithful and sincere,* and who, when he disliked a man, always let him perceive it—a portrait intended as a satirical contrast to the character of the reigning Monarch." * After stating his conviction that the public money was spent in corrupting Members of Parliament, Lord Chatham alluded to his friend Camden's pension of 1500*l.* "My suspicions," continued Lord Chatham," have been justified; his integrity has made him once more a poor and a private man; he was dismissed for the vote he gave in this House in favour of the right of election in the people."

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* Walpole.

Here he was called to order by Lord Marchmont, who moved that his words should be taken down.

Lord Chatham seconded the motion and added, "I neither deny, retract, nor explain the words. I re-affirm the fact, and I desire to meet the sense of the House; I appeal to the honour of every Lord in the House, whether he has not the same conviction."

Lord Rockingham, Lord Temple, and many other Lords, did upon their honour affirm the same.*

There is no report of the arguments with which Lord Rockingham supported his motion: but in reference to it, the following letter was written.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Thursday morning, March 15th, 1770.

"MY DEAREST LORD,

I cannot defer till I have the pleasure of seeing your Lordship at eleven, that of congratulating you with the warmest and most affectionate sincerity, on the great and important figure which your Lordship and our other friends made in the debate of yesterday; it will be long, very long, remembered to your honour, and you have laid such a foundation, that if it were possible it could in any, the least degree, slip out of my Lord Bute's memory, overburdened with pleasing recollections, the shortness of his memory will I dare say receive much assistance and refreshing help upon future occasions.

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* Parl. Hist., vol. xvi., pp. 819, 820.

No man can be more sincerely or with greater respect,
Your Lordship's most truly devoted and
Obedient servant,
TEMPLE."

Shortly after the meeting of Parliament, an alliance was formed between the various sections of opposition who now made common cause against the measures of the Court. As a consequence of this junction, Lord Rockingham was assured by Alderman Beckford, of the cordial co-operation and support of that section of the city liberals, who had placed themselves under his guidance.

William Beckford, a wealthy West Indian planter, was "a noisy vulgar flatterer of Lord Chatham—and bombastic as became the priest of such an idol." * The satellite was content with the lustre he derived from the orb round which he moved. To be the great man's mouthpiece eastward of Temple Bar, appears to have been the height of his ambition. Beckford spoke a strong cockney dialect; he had a great contempt for the rules of grammar, and was very fond of quoting Latin. "Mr. Burke's mispronunciation of the word *vectigal*," † writes Cowper to Unwin, "brings to my remembrance a peculiar altercation that passed when I was once in the gallery, between Mr. Rigby and Alderman Beckford. The latter was a very incorrect speaker, and the former I imagine, not a very accurate scholar. He ventured, however, upon a quotation from Terence, and delivered it thus: *Sine Scelere et Baccho friget Venus.* The Alderman interrupted him, was very severe upon his mistake, and restored Ceres to her place in the sentence. Mr. Rigby replied, that he was obliged to his worthy friend for teaching him Latin, and would take the first opportunity to return the favour by teaching him English." *

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* Walpole.

† Everyone remembers Mr. Burke's trip in the quantity of *vectigal*; but perhaps not so well another offence against prosody on the same evening. In a previous Latin quotation he had said *nimĭrum*. Lord North replied, that not to know the quantity of nimīrum was very excusable, since only one man understood the true quantity.

"Septimus Claudi, nimirum *intelligit unus*."
Hor. lib. i. Ep. 9, v. 1.

During my stay at Eastbury † (says Richard Cumberland,) we were visited by the late Mr. Henry Fox and Mr. Alderman Beckford: the solid good sense of the former, and the dashing loquacity of the latter, formed a contrast between the characters of these gentlemen. To Mr. Fox, our host (Bubb Dodington) paid all that courtly homage, which he so well knew how to time and when to apply; to Beckford he did not observe the same attentions, but in the happiest flow of raillery and wit, combated this intrepid talker with admirable effect. It was an interlude truly comic and amusing. Beckford, loud, voluble, self-sufficient, and galled by hits which he could not parry, and probably did not expect, laid himself more and more open by the vehemence of his argument. Dodington lolling in his easy chair in perfect apathy and self-command, dozing, and even snoring at intervals, broke out every now and then into such gleams and flashes of wit and irony, as with the contrast of his phlegm and the other's impetuosity, made his humour irresistible, and set the table in a roar. *

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* Cowper's Works, edited by Southey, vol. iii., p. 317.

† Mr. Dodington's country-seat.

Under a semblance of good humour, Beckford concealed an overbearing and tyrannical disposition. Obsequious to his political chieftain, he was haughty and supercilious to every one else. A spouter of liberty to the citizens of London, he proved a hard task-master to his ill-fed slaves in Jamaica.

At the annual election of Lord Mayor, in 1769, Beckford was chosen for that office by 1967 votes, over 676 of the Court candidate. He wished to decline the office on account of his age and infirmities, but the general cry being "None other than Beckford," he consented to ascend for a second time the civic throne.

In his capacity of chief magistrate he gave on the 22nd of March, a grand political banquet to the combined forces of the Grenvilles, Chathams, and Rockinghams. In a letter to Junius, Horne Tooke states, that this entertainment was provided for no other purpose than to obtain from the members of both Houses in opposition, signatures to an engagement, with respect to their future political conduct; that "Lord Rockingham and his friends flatly refused an engagement, and Mr. Beckford as flatly swore they should eat none of his broth." That the great city tribune had some thoughts of taking this advantage of his assembled guests, is evident from the letter in which Lord Chatham, on the 10th of March, thus addressed him.

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* Cumberland's Memoirs.

"I NEED not say, My Dear Lord, how public spirited and firm to the Constitution, Lord Rockingham is. He, Lord Temple, and I, are equally of opinion that no new matters should be opened or agitated, at, or after, the *convivium.*"

Lord Rockingham must have written a letter of similar import on the same day.

THE LORD MAYOR TO LORD ROCKINGHAM.

SOHO SQUARE, *March* 12*th*, 1770.

"MY LORD,

Your Lordship's letter of the 10th afforded me the satisfaction of hearing how exactly your sentiments coincided with those of Lord Chatham; to your two opinions I therefore submit with pleasure; *Arundo sum, non quercus.* I heartily concur with your Lordship, that the great object of a patriotic opposition, should be, the reducing the exorbitant influence of the Crown within safer bounds. I hope every member of the two Houses, who have stood up for the liberty of this country, will make a point of honouring the Mansion House with their company on Thursday, the 22nd instant.

I am, my dear Lord,
With the greatest sincerity,
Your ever faithful and affectionate humble servant,
W. BECKFORD."

The expulsion of Wilkes from Middlesex, and the substitution of Colonel Luttrell in his room, formed the subject of attack in the Commons as well as the Lords during this whole Session. On the bringing up of the report to the Address, on the 10th of January, Sir George Savile said, "I look on this House as sitting illegally after their illegal act [of voting Luttrell representative for Middlesex]. They have betrayed their trust. I will not add epithets, because epithets only weaken; therefore I will not say they have betrayed their country corruptly, flagitiously, and scandalously, but I do say they have betrayed their country; and I stand here to receive the punishment for having said so." Conway talked of committal to the Tower, but the House prudently pocketed the affront.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO SIR GEORGE SAVILE.

January 10*th.*

"SOME of our friends were with me when your servant came, which prevented my being able to write immediately.

Soon afterwards Mr. Burke and Mr. Cornewall came, and from them we heard what had passed to-day in the House of Commons. The declaration you have made in the House of your opinion on their conduct, is decisive, and does honour both to your integrity and courage."

The Liverymen of London, indignant at the King's having given no answer to their petition of the preceding year, assembled a Common Hall, and drew up a "Remonstrance," in which, among other things, they declared, in reference to Wilkes's expulsion, "that the majority of the House of Commons had done a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship-money by Charles the First, and the dispensing power of James the Second." This document Beckford, the Lord Mayor, accompanied by the Sheriffs and two hundred of the civic body, delivered to the King on the throne. The King, without anger, scorn, or fear, read the answer, which had been prepared by Dyson, and had received correction from several other hands.* The "Public Advertiser," the next day, giving an account of the ceremony, said, "*The King instantly turned round to his courtiers and burst out a laughing—Nero fiddled when Rome was burning.*"

On the 1st of May, Lord Chatham brought a Bill into the House of Lords to reverse the adjudication of the Commons, which declared the incapacity of Wilkes to sit in Parliament; and four days later, adopting the language of the King's answer to the Livery, he moved a resolution, that the advice which His Majesty was advised to give to a "late humble address, remonstrance, and petition," was "disrespectful to his Majesty, injurious to his Parliament, and irreconcileable to the principles of the Constitution." The three letters which follow were written prior to moving the first of these measures.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

April 27th, 1770.

"HAVING already troubled your Lordship with a letter of this day, and transmitted the draft of the Bill prepared, I will not add unnecessarily to that trouble by entering again into the subject at present, but confine myself to express my best thanks to your Lordship for the obliging communication of your ideas. I will only say, that I have the pleasure to find my sentiments agreeing with your Lordship's as far as confining the first Bill to the incapacity, at the same time offering my fears that a Bill merely declaratory of the powers and rights of the House of Commons, in case of usurpation, with the lack of *incapacity*, does not by any means reach the object; but of this I will say no more tilll we meet. Allow me, my Lord, to add my thanks for your Lordship's goodness, in taking upon you the trouble to desire the Lords to meet at your house. I have the honour to be, with perfect regard, &c."

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* Sir Denis Le Marchant; in a note to Walpole's George III., vol. iv., p. 99.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Wednesday evening.

"LORD CHATHAM presents his best compliments to the Marquis of Rockingham, and returns his Lordship many thanks for the honour of his obliging note, with the inclosure. He begs leave to say, that the draught of the intended Address seems to contain nothing unfit *in point of matter*, or liable to objection, except *some words* towards the conclusion relating to *arrangements* and *offices, &c.*, which Lord Chatham cannot help thinking would be better *omitted*.

He has one knee in flannel at present, but hopes to be able to get to the House to-morrow. He trusts that Lord Rockingham continues not *unwell*, at least."

Monday morning.

"LORD CHATHAM presents his respects to Lord Rockingham, and has the honour to send his Lordship the drafts of the motion intended, if approved. He begs to add some expression of what he feels so sensibly of Lord Rockingham's singular goodness to him last night. He greatly hopes that Lady Rockingham continues to advance hourly to perfect recovery."

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

HAYES, *Friday, April 29th,* 1770.

"MY LORD,

Inclosed herewith is the draft of the intended Bill reversal. Your Lordship will see that the resolution that Mr. Luttrell ought to have been returned, is *purposely* omitted to be recited: the reason of this is, that as that resolution is confined to the return and seat of the member, without mention made therein of the incapacity adjudged, I think it will be properest to bring in a distinct Bill of reversal with regard to the *nomination* of a *representative* by the House, for the freeholders of the County of Middlesex. I intended to have had the pleasure of bringing myself this draft to your Lordship, together with my thoughts in regard to it, this morning; but finding myself not so well to-day, (I believe from indigestion only,) I take the liberty to trouble your Lordship in this way, in order that there may be full time for due consideration. I meant also, could I have got to Grosvenor Square this morning, to have farther submitted to your Lordship how highly necessary it seems to be to bring into consideration in the House of Lords the King's answer to the City's Remonstrance: a more unconstitutional piece never came from the throne, nor any more dangerous, if left unnoticed. I propose, if your Lordship does not disapprove, to mention this to the Lords at the meeting; and am extremely desirous to move it. The temper of the people seems, at this moment, as the friends of the Constitution could wish. The spirit of firm opposition to slavery, lately somewhat clouded, '*Profundo pulchrior evenit.*' Action will still brighten its rays, and the end of the hunting season will, I trust, ensure a full House. I have the honour to be, with most distinguished esteem and respect,

My Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and most obedient humble servant,

CHATHAM."

On the 1st of May, Lord Chatham moved to reverse the adjudications of the House of Commons against Mr. Wilkes. It is to this bill that the Duke of Richmond alludes in the following letter to Lord Rockingham:—

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

GOODWOOD, *April* 18*th*, 1770.

"MY DEAR LORD,

Forgive my troubling you with this letter, but, on the one hand, I wish not to return to London any more (except for a very short time perhaps in May), and on the other, I wish to attend any business you may think of consequence, and would not neglect Lord

Chatham's Bill, which he gave notice of, as, indeed, he has behaved very handsomely by us this Session. I should rather suspect he would drop this Bill, and that you would all think it best to give over opposition for this year, as many people will be, like myself, very unwilling to go to town, nay more so, for I am persuaded that many very good friends *would not* attend, but *I will*, if necessary.

Now, I should wish to know what your plan is, that I might settle mine accordingly; at all events, I hope Lord Chatham's Bill will not come on, Tuesday next, as I must on that day attend our quarter sessions, and on the Thursday following dine with the Mayor of Chichester. You will own these are matters of importance. As to America, I see by the votes, that somebody moved to put off the consideration of the Bill for the repeal of the duties till after the holidays, but that the motion did not take place, and that the Bill passed. I suppose this somebody was your Lordship, but as it is now over, any day this or next Session will do to abuse the Administration for it, and to declare our sentiments. Mr. Herbert's Bill I know nothing of, I mean of its fate, and do not recollect any thing else that was to be attended to, except the Civil List papers. They were promised us after the holidays, but I almost wish that they may not come, or, if they do, that the consideration of them may be deferred till next year, as I think you will not be able to get a good attendance this year, and, if you do not half the good of the debate will be lost. The same reason makes me incline to put off till next year the Bill I talked to you of bringing in, relative to the proceedings on attachment, in forcing the party to swear to interrogatories. Dunning and Wedderburn have considered the matter over, and drawn up a short Bill, which I like very well; inclosed I send you a copy of it, and wish you would talk to Lord Chatham and Camden about it, and give them copies of it, but beg they will not give other copies: if you and they think it best that I should move for this Bill this year, I am ready to do it, and will then have more copies made for our friends and allies, but if it is not to come on this year, as I rather wish, it will in that case be best not to have copies given, and nothing said about it at present."

Lord Chatham followed up his Resolution on the "Remonstrances," by moving, on the 14th of May, an address to the King to dissolve the present and to call a new Parliament. How personally obnoxious to the Court was this question, may be deduced from the expression of the King to General Conway, that he would abdicate his Crown sooner:—"Yes," continued the King, laying his hand on his sword, "I will have recourse to this, sooner than yield to a dissolution."

The subjoined correspondence, will show that Lord Chatham and Lord Rockingham were agreed upon the expediency of a motion to dissolve the Parliament, but differed as to the manner in which the subject should be brought under consideration. It will also afford evidence of the dictatorial tone which the noble Earl assumed to his new ally. The allusion in the first of these letters to the "umbrage" which was "taking possession of the public," has reference to Lord Chatham's city partisans, who were getting up a little "peaceful agitation," in order to extract political pledges from Rockingham and his friends.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

HAYES, *Thursday night, May* 10*th,* 1770.

"MY LORD,

Your Lordship's return to town not being precisely fixed, and the end of the Session coming so near, I trust your Lordship will pardon the trouble I venture to give you by this line, upon a matter I have already mentioned; it is the motion for an Address to dissolve the Parliament. When I have had the honour of any conversation with you upon this subject, your Lordship, I think, had doubts concerning the expediency of moving it; those doubts were enough for me to defer (however clear in my own opinion) the stirring this matter till the last moment of the Session, which now renders some final determination necessary. Give me leave then, my Lord, to offer in a very few words, what with me amounts to a full persuasion, that opposition will suffer not a little if a question for dissolution should not come on. A surmise more than begins to spread, that zeal for this indispensable measure is slackening every hour, and that symptoms appear of a tendency to *waive* this great object of the People. I know of no adequate means to prevent the fatal effects of such an umbrage taking possession of the public, but a motion of dissolution in the House of Lords.

I confess the reasons I have yet heard against it, seem to conclude only against the *object* itself, as ill taken: not in the least against asserting it openly and directly, by a motion for it, upon the supposition that the *end* is (as I conceive most clearly to be) wise, necessary, and indispensable. I take the liberty to urge this the more, as I have formed an opinion I cannot change, with regard to dissolution, and that is, that I could never in any case wish a friend of mine to go into the King's service, unless a new Parliament were called, it being in my sense an illusion little short of infatuation, to imagine, that this House of Commons, the violators of the people's rights, would ever become the safe instrument of a system of Administration founded on the reparation of the violations, and on a total extinction of the influence which caused them. As I have the pleasure to think your Lordship's ideas meet mine with regard to this part of the consideration, I will not be without hope upon reflection, your Lordship may fall in with the motion I am so zealous to make; it is with the utmost sincerity, I assure you, that my pain and distress will be great if I should find that we finally differ upon this essential object. I am unwilling to forbode to myself such an event; but should it happen, will your Lordship allow me to hope that my differing from your Lordship, and perhaps other Lords whom I most truly esteem and respect, will be pardoned in consideration of the zeal which suggests it. I do not presume to press any Lord to what he does not perfectly approve. And as I shall never feel indifference on the withholding support from any motion of mine, as the least matter of complaint, I flatter myself your Lordship's real candour, which I have so constantly experienced, will attribute my strong bent upon this matter of dissolution, to a full and deep conviction of mind, received from no slight contemplation of the object. I am sorry to break in upon the amusements of the country by calling back your Lordship's thoughts to the scene here, but the moments forbid delay, and I flatter myself you will not be displeased with the open manner of a very sincere well wisher."

Lord Rockingham wrote an answer on the following day:—

"From some information I have, I should doubt whether in general, among the Lords in opposition, an Address for the dissolution of Parliament would be a measure that they would incline to. It does not strike me that it is particularly called for; because I cannot admit that, though some people may throw out suspicions or reflections that there is lukewarmness, or that we or others do not adhere to the measure of dissolution, and various surmises, &c., yet, I must hold an opinion, that it is neither for your Lordship's honour nor for ours, to suffer ourselves to be sworn every day *to keep our word*." *

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* Chatham Correspondence, vol. viii., pp. 455, 456.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"My Lord, Hayes, *Saturday morning, May 12th*, 1770.

It is with much concern I learn the cause which brings your Lordship earlier to town, and I wish extremely, for the satisfaction of hearing that your Lordship's anxiety for Lady Rockingham is over, and that this disorder is quite removed. I fell upon a very unlucky moment to trouble you upon business, and am very sorry your Lordship had the trouble of thinking and writing under such a circumstance. The matter which I took the liberty to offer to your Lordship's consideration, I confess, still continues to appear to me, as highly fit and necessary to be moved. I have in our earliest conversations, this Session, from time to time, mentioned a motion for dissolving, as a thing I thought of the utmost consequence, and have been all along, rather calling than called upon with regard to it. That is now the case, and I frankly own to your Lordship, that the idea of moving it springs more from myself than from the suggestion of others. The reasons for doing it seem to strengthen every hour, from the conversation which spreads so much, unfavourable to dissolution. From this fact, which I believe is admitted, there results to my judgment, arguments amounting to a political demonstration in favour of the motion, to assert and enforce it, upon the supposition, that dissolution, universally liked or not, is the measure *sine quâ non*. I think it for our honour, and in prudence indispensable, to seek every occasion to let the people see we demand it, and the Crown know, by perpetual reiteration, that we will never acquiesce without it. I am sorry to trouble your Lordship again upon a subject, when I may have the misfortune to differ, and trust you will not receive, without indulgence, sentiments, though not coinciding with your own, from one who has not formed his opinion hastily, and who continues to feel all the cogency of the reasons which support it. I will, with great pleasure, attend your Lordship to-morrow evening, and extremely hope it may be at your own house. I have the honour to be, with perfect regard, My Lord,

Your Lordship's
Most obedient and most humble servant,
CHATHAM."

In the answer to this letter, written the same evening, Lord Rockingham says,—

"YOUR Lordship would observe in my letter, that I mean to convey, the only doubt which I find among those friends I converse with, is confined to the expediency of moving an *Address* for dissolution, not on the expediency of the measure itself.

Your Lordship's last letter, putting the matter entirely on your Lordship's own opinion of the propriety of *now* moving the Address, is, I assure your Lordship, of more weight with me, and may be with others, than the argument of the former letter, where your Lordship, in part, put it on the necessity of clearing up doubts, which some have spread, or attempted to propagate among the public." *

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* Chatham Correspondence, vol. viii., pp. 456, 457.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

PALL MALL.
Wednesday morning, May 14th, 1770.

"LORD CHATHAM presents his compliments to Lord Rockingham, and hopes the following words will answer his Lordship's doubts with regard to the grounds of the motion for dissolution, which were understood to be implied sufficiently: 'that, under the late violations of the rights of the electors of England in the election for Middlesex, still unredressed, and in the present conflict,* though Lord Chatham still thinks the other mode preferable, he defers with pleasure to Lord Rockingham's wish, and concludes it will better meet the Duke of Richmond's ideas. He will be happy to see Lord Rockingham, as his Lordship is so good to propose."

No sooner was it known that Lord Chatham had entered into a political alliance with Lord Rockingham, than all who had any pretensions to the name of Whig quitted the ranks of the Court, and flocked round the standard of the opposition. The next resignation of any importance to that of Lord Camden, was that of the Marquis of Granby, who, on the 16th of January, threw up the posts of Master-General of the Ordnance and Commander-in-Chief of the Army. The effigy of this gallant soldier, with his portly form, bald pate, and good-humoured, open, ruddy countenance, continues to look down from alehouse signs on the present generation, to remind it of one who was the idol of that which is gone by. Brave as a lion in the face of an enemy, Granby was as timid as a maiden when standing before an assembly of his unarmed fellow-countrymen. Unsuspicious, generous, injudicious, he was frequently seduced into giving his support to men of whom, and measures of which, he disapproved. In the same indiscriminating spirit he bestowed his money on every impostor who asked him for it.

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* These words are not in the Address which Lord Chatham moved on the 13th.

> "What most his manly heart-strings tore,
> Was when he felt, and found no more."

But few letters of this popular nobleman are to be found amongst Lord Rockingham's papers. The following, written two months before his death, is probably the last he ever addressed to him:—

THE MARQUIS OF GRANBY TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"MY DEAR LORD, KELHAM, *August* 13*th*, 1770.

When I was last in London I called on your Lordship, to inform you that I proposed being at Scarborough this summer, to try whether our mutual interest could not overbalance the influence of Administration; but as I had not then the pleasure of seeing your Lordship, and as I always design to apprise your Lordship of my intentions with regard to that borough, I beg leave to inform you that I am at present on my road to Scarborough, purposing to treat the corporation as a joint interest, united with you; and give me leave to add, with the greatest truth, that it is my pride to stand in the eyes of my country connected in any particular with Lord Rockingham. This letter, not having a grain of ceremony in it, I hope it will not occasion to your Lordship the trouble of an answer. I beg my compliments to Lady Rockingham, and desire your Lordship to be assured that I am, with the greatest sincerity,

Your obliged and humble servant,

GRANBY."

From Scarborough, whither Lord Granby was journeying, he returned no more. He died at that place on the 20th of October. "In so few months," says Walpole, "did Lord Chatham lose his tribune and his general, and was reduced to his ill-content friend, Lord Camden, his ill-connected brother, Lord Temple, and his worse reconciled brother, Mr. Grenville."*

By the decease of Lord Granby the regiment of Blues, all that he retained when he quitted the Court, became vacant. Upon this event being officially notified to the King, he wrote the following letter:—

RICHMOND LODGE, *October 22nd*, 1770.

"LIEUTENANT-GENERAL CONWAY,

I choose to acquaint you that I have directed Lord Barrington to notify you as Colonel of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards. I shall, therefore, expect to receive you in that capacity on Wednesday.

GEORGE R.

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* Walpole's George III., vol. iv., p. 175.

We learn from Walpole that Lord Holland, when acting Minister in the House of Commons, had carried a positive promise of the Blues, on the first vacancy, to the Duke of Richmond. "The duke, who did not expect that engagement would be kept to him, now in earnest opposition, wrote an artfully handsome letter to the King, to release him from that promise; but His Majesty had violated it before he received the duke's dispensation, and made no answer."*

A copy of this "artfully handsome letter" was forwarded to Lord Rockingham, with the following note from the duke:—

GOODWOOD, *October* 21*st*, 1770.

"I HAVE but a moment's time to send you the enclosed copy, which will explain itself. I hope you approve; and am, with the truest esteem, &c.,

Pray do not communicate the copy to anybody, nor speak of it, till you hear the event from others."

COPY OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND'S LETTER TO THE KING.

"SIR, GOODWOOD, *October* 21*st*, 1770.

It is with the most profound respect that I beg leave to address your Majesty.

Lord Holland having informed me in the year 1763 of your Majesty's gracious promise, of honouring me with the command of the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards Blue, upon the death of Marshal Ligonier, when your Majesty intended to give the First Regiment of Foot

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* Walpole's George III., vol. iv., p. 179.

Guards to Lord Granby, I should have thought it my duty to have applied to your Majesty on that event, had I not learned at the same time of another disposition having taken place, whereby the Blues did not then become vacant.*

But as I have heard this morning that Lord Granby is deceased, I hope your Majesty will excuse my taking the liberty humbly to renew to your Majesty the deep sense I feel of your Majesty's goodness, and to express the ambition I shall have upon all occasions of serving your Majesty in any capacity I may be thought equal to; but as many circumstances have happened since the time of your Majesty's gracious message to me by Lord Holland, and as possibly it might be more convenient for your Majesty's present arrangements, if this engagement did not subsist, I most humbly presume to beg of your Majesty, if this should be the case, to permit me to relinquish this claim to the Blues, which your Majesty has formerly given me with so much goodness, and to assure your Majesty that no situation, however desirable, can equal the satisfaction I shall have in proving the attachment, respect, and duty with which I most humbly entreat your Majesty's permission to subscribe myself,

Sir,
Your Majesty's most loyal and obedient subject
and servant,
RICHMOND."

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* Ligonier died on the 28th of April. The first regiment of foot-guards was given to the King's brother, the Duke of Gloucester.

From the period of Lord Granby's resignation, in the preceding January, the office of Commander-in-Chief had remained in abeyance, its official duties mainly conducted by Lord Barrington, Secretary at War. This nobleman was in stature somewhat below the middle size. He was a man of a friendly and obliging disposition, of courteous manners, of good business habits, and respectable talents. His official career extended over a period of twenty-four years, during which he became a Lord of the Admiralty, Master of the Great Wardrobe, Secretary at War, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Treasurer of the Navy.

He was rather a useful than an agreeable parliamentary speaker. He had a lisp, and was tedious and precise in his delivery. Yet he lacked not "a sort of vivacity which would have shone oftener if the rind it had to penetrate had been thinner."*

Barrington had been bred up in the principles of Whiggism, but became an early convert to the Leicester House school of politics. It would be no injustice to infer that such men as Talbot, Northington, and Loughborough, were instigated by self-interest to become "King's friends;" but Lord Barrington, a man of fair character and independent fortune, appears to have considered the obligations of this very lucrative creed of so sacred a nature as to supersede those of his conscience and character."† In a letter to the King, which his brother and biographer, the Bishop of Durham, has thought fit to publish, his lordship thus deplores his difficulties: "I have said I retain my own opinions in respect to the disputes with America; I give them, such as they are, to Ministers, in conversation, or in writing; I am summoned to meetings where I sometimes think it my duty to declare them openly, before perhaps twenty or thirty persons; and the next day I am forced either to vote contrary to them, or to vote with an opposition which I abhor." It was superfluous in his Lordship to mention the dreadful alternative, as it was one to which during thirty years of official life he never once had recourse. When the Parliament re-assembled in November, Colonel Barré asked, "Who advised the King in military matters?" Lord Barrington replied that he did not know any officer fit to be Commander-in-Chief, and wound up his speech with saying, "that in Queen Anne's reign Dr. Ratcliffe and an old woman could cure an ague, and that an Adjutant-General would take excellent care of the army." This imprudent speech was severely commented upon by Junius, under the signature of "Testes." "Lord Barrington," writes Calcraft, "is heart-broken at his nonsensical speech in Parliament. The Army affronted, and Hervey full of resentment." Walpole, who considered Lord Barrington's remarks as implying the incapacity of his friend Conway, pronounced it to be "the most improper, the most impertinent, and most offensive speech in every light that could be conceived." To Lord Albemarle, who had frequently been spoken of for the chief command of the Army, and whom the Whigs intended to appoint to that office, if they returned to power during his lifetime, Lord Barrington offered the following explanation :—

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* Walpole.

† See this letter, from which the phrase and the quotation which follows, are borrowed, in the Bishop of Durham's Life of Lord Barrington: 4to, p. 175.

LORD BARRINGTON TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

CAVENDISH SQUARE, *November 20th,* 1770.

"I FIND, my dear Lord, you have been informed, though not accurately, of something I said in the House of Commons, the first day of the Session. I will shortly state that matter to you. Barré lamented the death of Lord Granby, and talked much of the necessity of a Commander-in-Chief at this junction. I said I had always thought that there should be *one at all times,* though I remembered when that office was a point of opposition ; but I fairly confessed that so many requisites went to the appointment of a Commander-in-Chief, and so many different circumstances must concur to make a man proper for such an officer, that I did not know any man that could, *at present,* be proposed for it, though we had many excellent general officers, as the enemies of this country would find if we had a war. Neither General Conway nor any other man took the least notice of this, but it was next day reported all over London that I had said we had no general who could command an army. I believe no representation had less foundation or colour. There is one man whom I love, though I do not flatter him, who, if he liked the Ministry and its measures, would, in my opinion, be a good Commander-in-

Chief, but politics must change before he can be fit for that station."

Within a month of Lord Granby, died George Grenville, Lord Chatham's brother-in-law. Lord Rockingham, who wrote a letter of condolence to Lord Chatham on the event, received the following reply:—

LORD CHATHAM TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"My Lord, Hayes, *November* 15*th*, 1770.

I have many thanks to express to your Lordship, in Lady Chatham's name as well as for myself, for the honour of your obliging attention to our great loss, and for the enquiry you are so good as to make about our health. Lady Chatham is as well as can be expected in such a situation; and, after much anxious fatigues, the state of my gout is such as, I flatter myself, will allow of my attendance next week.

I am justly sensible of the honour your Lordship does me in wishing I could be in town a day or two before my actual motion is to be made. It would be the greatest satisfaction to me to have opportunities of communicating sentiments with your Lordship at all times, and more particularly in the present moment, when public dangers of every sort are imminent, and the ruin of the kingdom, together with the destruction of this free constitution, seem, to my apprehension, immediately at hand. The assaults are visible and strong; the defences, I fear, either in our *civil* or *warlike* capacity, too feeble, disjointed, and inefficacious. In a body constituted as an honest opposition is, there will be variety of opinions, and it is highly fit there should be. For myself, I shall always recommend *vigour* as the best *prudence*, and consider *relaxation* as the worst *policy*. I trust your Lordship's sentiments differ little from mine; and I have the vanity and the satisfaction to think that the more we converse on public measures, the more perfectly we shall agree about them. Allow me, my Lord, in this alarming crisis, to press again and again large and comprehensive views. A pamphlet of last year,* however well intended, I find has done much hurt to the cause. In the wide and extensive public, the *whole* alone can save the *whole* against the desperate designs of the Court. Let us, for God's sake, employ our efforts to remove all just obstacles to a true public-spirited union of *all* who will not be slaves. A thousand thanks to your Lordship for the trouble you are so good to take to inform me of what passed in the House of Lords. The noble Lord's answer to you is worthy of his cause and of his great abilities as a statesman. Pardon this extension beyond the bounds of an answer to the most obliging letter imaginable, and be so good to attribute the length to a situation of mind strongly impressed with the prospect of what is hanging over this unhappy country, and ardently wishing to contribute the little which depends on me towards making the last stand. The neglect of the Ministers as to war, I think with your Lordship, is highly criminal, and they cannot be too much pressed upon it.

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* Burke's "Thoughts on the Present Discontents."

I have the honour to be, with perfect truth and regard,

My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient and most
humble servant,
CHATHAM."

On the back of the above letter are the following remarks, in the handwriting of Mr. Burke:—

July 13th, 1792.

"Looking over poor Lord Rockingham's papers, I find this letter from a man wholly unlike him. It concerns my pamphlet ('The Cause of the Discontents'). I remember to have seen this knavish letter at the time. The pamphlet is itself, by anticipation, an answer to that grand artificer of fraud. *He* would not like it. It is pleasant to hear *him* talk of *the great extensive public*, who never conversed but with a parcel of low toad-eaters. Alas! alas! How different the *real* from the ostensible public man! Must all this theatrical stuffing and raised heels be necessary for the character of a great man?

EDMUND BURKE."

"Oh! but this does not derogate from his great, splendid side. God forbid!

E. B."

CHAPTER VIII.

JUNIUS'S LETTERS TO THE KING.—LETTERS FROM LORD ROCKINGHAM TO MR. DOWDESWELL.—LORD MAYOR CROSBY.—RICHARD OLIVER.—QUARREL BETWEEN WILKES AND HORNE TOOKE.—THE ROYAL MARRIAGE ACT.—SENTIMENTS OF THE OPPOSITION.—PROPOSED TAX ON IRISH ABSENTEES.—LETTER OF THE IRISH PROPRIETORS.

On the appearance of Junius's celebrated "Letters to the King," an *ex officio* information was filed against Woodfall, the publisher. Chief Justice Mansfield, who presided at the trial, charged the jury that the question of libel or no libel was for the bench to decide; that the fact of publication was all that came within their cognisance. The jury, however, returned a verdict of "guilty of printing and publishing *only*," which being virtually an acquittal, Woodfall was discharged amidst the acclamations of the populace. This doctrine of Lord Mansfield was differently handled by the two sections of opposition; Lord Chatham, through the agency of his law representative, Lord Camden, wished to criminate the Chief Justice for giving an illegal charge; Lord Rockingham sought to give future juries a power to try the whole matter at issue. This course Lord Chatham designated a "compound of connection, tyranny, and absurdity—not to say collusion."

On the 10th of December, 1770, Lord Camden proposed six questions to Lord Mansfield, respecting his charge to the jury on Woodfall's trial. Shortly before the subject was mooted in the House of Lords, the Duke of Richmond wrote to Lord Rockingham as follows:—

"MY DEAR LORD, *December*, 1770.

I have not heard a word from the West India merchants. If Lord Chatham calls on me, I shall speak as plainly to him as I did to Lord Camden to-day. *He* was not only conciliating in *manners*, but also in *matter*. We talked fairly and openly of a complete *union*. He understood fully what I meant, and said he had no difficulty as to consulting and acting together, but he had some as to being bound not to accept of office if honourably offered without the coming in of a whole party. That he had been *so* bound to Lord Chatham, had been strictly bound in honour, and had discharged his duty, but had been very ill-used. That he was now free, and should *consider* before he engaged again. I represented that there were some *advantages* as well as *disadvantages* in a connexion with party. We had a great deal of talk, and I think that with a little management we shall have him.

Lord Camden has just sent me his questions to the judges for *consideration*, which he says he communicated to you this morning. I will delay my answer till I hear from you, which I beg may be early to-morrow morning. The second,* with a word or two of alteration, appears to me very proper. The first I think may be objected to, and I think has no relation to the last. If you will be up early, I will call on you by eleven to explain my meaning to you. I will not detain your servant any longer, so good-night.

I am ever yours,

RICHMOND."

The following extracts of letters from Lord Rockingham to Mr. Dowdeswell, relate to a Bill which that gentleman brought before the House of Commons on the 7th of March, 1771, "for explaining the powers of juries in prosecutions for libels."

BATH, *Saturday night, past twelve o'clock.*
January 12*th*, 1771.

"MR. WEDDERBURN goes to London to-morrow, and carries this letter, with some others, in a packet, to Grosvenor Square. He and Lord Clive dined here to-day with Mr. Montague and Mr. Strachey. I mentioned the Bill to Mr. Wedderburn some days ago, but we then intended having a morning's conversation, which one accident or other has prevented. Perhaps the sooner you see Mr. Wedderburn the better. I wish also you would see Lord George Germayne, as I think he *does* and would also *incline* to the idea of a Bill. I had a word or two with Phipps about the Bill, who seemed not to like it at first. His idea was that it might furnish a loophole for Lord Mansfield. It might indeed furnish a loophole, provided Lord Mansfield would adopt the Bill, because then he would assent to what would be a matter very favourable to the liberty of the press, and he might by that get some popularity, which would be some check in the proceedings which are meant only politically personally at him. I wish Lord Mansfield might have such an idea, and I am sure if he had the public would be much benefitted, whether personal animosities were gratified or not. Our motives, I trust, have always been to do what public service we can, and I should be heartily glad the Bill was carried. I have no idea that Lord Mansfield would like the Bill, and I rather suspect that Mr. Phipps' objecting, was from his being desirous rather of a Declaratory Bill, than for a Bill so far *conceding* as *allowing* the matter to be subject at present to *doubt* and *controversy*."

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* 1. "Does the opinion mean to declare that upon the general issue of Not Guilty, in the case of a seditious libel, the jury have no right by law to examine the innocence or criminality of the paper if they think fit, and to form their verdict upon such examination."

2. "Does the opinion mean to declare that in the case above-mentioned, where the jury have delivered in their verdict Guilty, that this verdict has found the fact only and not the law."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM DOWDESWELL.

BATH, *Sunday night, January 20th,* 1771.

"IN the London Chronicle of *Thursday night*, which I received here this morning, I see the *Bill* printed, and a *caution* to the public, lest they should approve it. It is worth your looking at. The attack does not surprise me, nor do I think it difficult to judge from what quarter it comes. Might it not be right for you or Mr. Burke to give it a consideration, and give some answer to the newspaper paragraph, and perhaps to suggest that the Bill would probably not be agreeable to either of the law champions,* and to foretell that the issue of all their personal contentions in the House of Lords will not finally produce any decision which may secure the public, and if that could be hit off so cleverly as not to give a coarse affront to either, it might also in the end be suggested, that the *one*, whichever it was, who would really assist in re-establishing and confirming the right in juries to judge of both *law* and *fact*, would be the best friend to posterity."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

BATH, *February 11th,* 1771.

"IN regard to my opinion on what I think the most advisable conduct to be held on the matter where Lord

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* Lords Camden and Mansfield.

Chatham and we differ. I did, early after coming here, in a letter to Mr. Burke, and since in letters to the Duke of Richmond, try, as much as I could to enforce the propriety of our adhering to our own plan. Everything which has passed confirms me more and more that it is essential that we should pursue it both for the sake of the public and our own credit.

The Duke of Richmond's last letter informed me of what had passed at Lord Chatham's. I early thought that the mode of proceeding in the House of Lords, by debates, queries, questions, &c.,* between Lord Camden and Lord Mansfield, would ultimately end in nothing advantageous to the public. The public already know that Lord Camden's opinion agrees more with the general wish of what the power of juries should go to, than what is *collected* to be Lord Mansfield's and the Court of King's Bench's opinion, formed on the paper delivered by Lord Mansfield.

Lord Camden's expression in the House of Lords (a day or two before I left London), that he would maintain his *own opinion* though *single*, or words to that purport, early convinced me that he knew that the opinion amongst all the judges coincided with the doctrines laid down in Lord Mansfield's paper. However disagreeable those doctrines may be, yet if it must be acknowledged that they can be defended by the opinions of the generality of the present judges, upon the old authorities from good constitutional lawyers, I cannot think that it would be honourable or just to suffer ourselves to be led away in order to gratify personal animosities, instead of doing what may effectually secure the public from receiving in future great injury from the impression the doctrines may make. . .

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* Lord Camden's queries to Lord Mansfield on the 11th December, 1770.

. . . . The enquiry into the proceedings of the courts of law in the House of Commons, seems to have been instituted more to gratify popular clamour than for any expectation or plan of public security to ensue. It probably was the occasion of the judgment and argument of the Court of King's Bench being laid before the House of Lords. Lord Camden is forced into taking up the matter there, and neither did there any public advantage, in any shape, arise from what passed in the House of Commons; nor is there any expectation of good arising from what has hitherto taken place in the House of Lords.

I do not expect any great good being carried into effect in either House of Parliament in these times, but what I think very natural is, that our friends should show that in their endeavours the *public advantage* is their object. If we look back for some years past, all measures which have either been for the security or advantage of the public, have been originated or carried into effect by our friends.

In the General Warrants' question, we allowed that the *practice of office* weighed so much with us, that we did not attack the issues of the warrants, but that not finding that the warrant could be supported by law, we required that they should be voted illegal, to check and control the wantonness of power, and hang *in terrorem* over who should ever think of using them. . . . .

. . . . The conduct Lord Chatham holds in this matter shows very plainly that, at the bottom, one cause of difference between our friends and him arises from a jealousy that our friends might get credit. The proposal that the Bill you had given notice you should move, should be altered, and put into Lord Camden's hands, was a very evident mark that he could accommodate a little on the main point where the public were concerned, if he and his friends were to appear in public as the leaders of the business.

I think Lord Camden has hard luck in all this matter, but in truth the difficulties he has been brought into, and the little attention paid to him, where he had great reason to expect otherwise, has appeared much of late, and should surely be a warning to us, even if we had no recollection of what at different times may have happened from the same quarter towards ourselves."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

BATH, *Thursday night, February 14th,* 1771.

"THE contents of the Duke of Richmond's express, which related in part to the Bill proposed by you, and which added some circumstances (of what had passed at the meeting with Lord Chatham) to the account he had before sent me, gave me the satisfaction of seeing that his Grace was clear of opinion that it was right to proceed on our own mode. I hope all our friends will think so, and I should imagine by parts in the Duke of Richmond's letter that they do.

Your letter mentions some alterations you would propose in order to accommodate. Accommodation does not appear to be reciprocally the intention, and therefore I should think you should be the more guarded, lest without obtaining any end, you should render your Bill more perplexed." *

In reply to this last paragraph, Mr. Dowdeswell writes :†—

"If your Lordship looks back to the alterations I had proposed, they rather strengthen our principle than shake it. Your Lordship knows me so well that I need not assure you that I shall not give up a tittle of the principle. I have communicated to the Duke of Richmond, Sir George Savile, Keppel and Burke, the alterations in the preamble which your Lordship suggested in your last letter."

The principal political event of this year was the fierce war which the House of Commons waged with the publishers of its debates. Wilkes was, as in like cases, at the bottom of the mischief. He was aware of the

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* Burke's advice to Dowdeswell on this matter is to the same effect. "If," he writes, "you yield now, the horseman will stick to you while ever you live. If I were to presume to give my opinion, not an iota should be yielded of the principle of the Bill or the principle of the preamble."—*Burke's Correspondence*, vol. vi. p. 251.

† February 16th, 1771.

resentment that would be felt by the Commons for what they considered a violation of their privileges, and likewise foresaw that the citizens of London would on the strength of their charter, maintain that no person could be arrested within their jurisdiction but by their own officers. In order to try the question, the editors of the various newspapers were urged to print the parliamentary proceedings. Everything turned out as Wilkes had hoped and expected. A printer of the name of Miller was apprehended on a Speaker's warrant. He in his turn gave into custody the messenger who arrested him. Both prisoners were brought before Brass Crosby, the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen Oliver and Wilkes, who, doubtless, as had been before agreed upon, denied the legality of the warrant, discharged the printer, and held the messenger to bail for an assault.

Brass Crosby, who for a time almost rivalled his brother magistrate Wilkes in popularity, had been elected Lord Mayor the preceding November. He was originally an attorney, but having married in succession two rich widows, he employed their fortunes in the profitable but not very reputable calling of dealing in seamen's tickets. In 1765 he was returned to parliament for Honiton. On his election as Lord Mayor, he laid his hand on his heart, and assured the citizens "he would protect them in their past privileges and liberties." He was possessed of an uncommon degree of sagacity and penetration, but his manners were rude and his appearance coarse.

His colleague, Richard Oliver, who was a West India merchant, is described as being "in his external manners the perfect gentleman."* His entrance into public life was purely accidental. One of his brothers who had declared himself a candidate for the city, was seized with a dangerous illness. Richard appeared on the hustings, lamented the inability of his brother to represent them, and begged the electors to transfer their suffrages to him. He succeeded, and between the day of nomination and election became Alderman, and, subsequently, Lord Mayor.

Oliver continued in parliament some years; but towards the end of the American war, despairing, as he observed in a speech to the corporation of London, of seeing greater wisdom in the measures of Government, he resigned both his seat in Parliament and his alderman's gown, went to his estates in the West Indies, and after remaining some time, died on his voyage home.

The three committing magistrates were summoned by the House of Commons on the alleged breach of privilege. Wilkes refused to obey the summons, and, as far as he was concerned, the House did not care to enforce their order. But Crosby and Oliver attending in their places in Parliament, and refusing to make any concession or apology, were committed to the Tower.

The motion for their committal was made on the 20th of March, by Mr. Welbore Ellis, and opposed by Sir George Savile, on the ground that the "private order of a single branch of the legislature ought not to supersede the established ordinances of the land."

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* The Sexagenarian, vol. ii., p. 24.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO MR. DOWDESWELL.

GROSVENOR SQUARE, *March* 28*th*, 1771.

"I THINK it would be very proper for us to consider whether I or any of us should make a visit to the Lord Mayor and Alderman in *the Tower*. It strikes me that consistently with the objection made by Sir G. Savile and you, as our friends in the House of Commons, we are to consider the Lord Mayor and Alderman as sent to the Tower by the prevalence of power, and not in consequence of a fair and just trial. I saw Mr. Martin* at the Thatched House to-day, and I expect to see him and Mr. Baker,† and probably Trecothick, in the course of to-morrow. It appears to me that myself and some of our friends making the visit, will have one good effect, as it will tend to show that we take part with Baker, Martin, and Trecothick, &c., &c., who have all supported the Lord Mayor in this matter. Indeed, if it should be deemed right that we should go, my idea would be, that when I went I would contrive to get some one or more of these three gentlemen to meet me somewhere in the city, and go with me, in order to *mark* the more strongly that they and we are good friends, &c.

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* Joseph Martin, M.P. for Gatton; one of the Sheriffs for London.

† William Baker, Member for Plympton, afterwards for Surrey, which county he represented in five parliaments. He married Juliana, daughter of Thomas Penn, one of the proprietors of Pennsylvania and the last surviving child of the founder of that province. Baker and Martin had both consented to be elected Sheriffs at Lord Rockingham's request.

I wish you would consider this matter, and let me see you at any convenient time in the course of to-morrow, either in the morning or evening.

I am, &c.,

ROCKINGHAM."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO MR. DOWDESWELL.

GROSVENOR SQUARE, *March 29th,* 1771.

"DEAR DOWDESWELL,

After my seeing Mr. Baker and Mr. Martin, I had some further conversation with the Duke of Portland, and upon the whole it seemed to be the opinion of several whom you left there that the going to the Lord Mayor, &c., would be right, upon the full consideration of all the circumstances. We have accordingly fixed to go to *the Tower on a visit* to-morrow. Mr. Martin will come here; the Duke of Portland will meet me at Mr. Baker's, in Winchester Street, as he has business to-morrow in the city. I have sent to the Duke of Manchester, who wished to know the result, and I hope to see his Grace and Lord Bessborough and some others to-night. I shall not go out this evening. I believe Admiral Keppel and Sir Charles Saunders will go with us. I shall send them word this evening, and I think, if you like it, you might as well be of the party, for though one would not wish to send about generally, yet I think the manner of going with the sheriffs would equally be proper for you. Our idea is that some of us should meet here to-morrow morning, about twelve, or soon after, and to proceed to Baker's so as to be there before two o'clock. We would not have a *procession*, but only *a few*, and those considerable ones. I have a mind to send a letter to Sir Francis Vincent.* I shall be glad to see you either to-night, or, at all events, to-morrow morning.

The journals of the day duly announce that on the 30th of March, the Dukes of Manchester and Portland, the Marquis of Rockingham, Earl Fitzwilliam, Sir Charles Saunders, Admiral Keppel, Mr. Dowdeswell, and Mr. Edmund Burke, attended by Messrs. Baker and Martin, waited on the Lord Mayor and Mr. Oliver in their apartments in the Tower, and that a few days afterwards, several of the Ministers and their adherents who had taken part against the printers, were beheaded and burnt in effigy on Tower Hill.

This was the last popular demonstration in the city in which for some years any thing like unanimity prevailed. Shortly broke out the quarrel between Wilkes and Horne Tooke, when every city patriot ranged himself under the banners of one or other of the two rivals, and from this period the Whigs, and what are now called "Radicals," became two distinct sections of the liberal party.

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* M.P. for Surrey. He died in 1775. His son was a warm supporter of Admiral Keppel, when he stood for Surrey in 1780. In a squib written by Mason, the poet, Mr. Onslow, the Tory candidate, is made to address Lord Sandwich—

> "Frank Vincent heads his '*congress gang*,'
> With some few more you wish to hang."

A sullen torpor appears henceforth to have pervaded the ranks of opposition. Seeing all the measures of the Court carried by triumphant majorities, many of them gave over what they considered a fruitless opposition, while others by continuing to attend, only made their weakness the more apparent. The following letter from the Duke of Manchester, expresses the general despondency of the Whigs at this period.

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

KIMBLETON CASTLE, *December* 10*th*, 1771.

"MY LORD,

As Parliament meets soon, permit me to make a little enquiry in regard to the measures proposed to be pursued the ensuing Session, so far as the general outline. In the present situation of things your Lordship is, I dare say, as little pleased with opposition as I am, and the approaching prospect does not promise to improve: some communication I had with Mr. Burke, inclined me to believe, your Lordship was of opinion, that the wisest method would be, to remain inactive at the opening of the Sessions; a proposal very agreeable to me, as I am thoroughly convinced that trifling questions unfollowed by any vigorous measures, weaken instead of strengthen the cause, especially when the people for whom we have engaged ourselves, seem totally to have deserted us, and to be thoroughly indifferent what becomes of us or our measures. Would it not be right to convince them in return, that though their desertion will not lead us to act a dishonourable part, yet we are sensible enough of their meanness, no longer to be volunteers for men who seem not to desire our service! Perhaps this proceeding might revive a proper spirit. But, my Lord, there is one question I hope you will bring on early, by yourself or some of your friends, I mean the old story, on which we pledged ourselves to make use of powers, the Constitution had armed us with, and great words that have hitherto had little effect. At the bottom of this protest are some names now not so sanguine as they then appeared, yet as they still outwardly profess the same measures, was your Lordship to request their company at your house to fix a day and mode for this business, whatever jealousies might prevent the supporting other measures, in this I think you would be attended, and we might once more open the Sessions with a formidable division in our House. If I appear impertinent in this advice, your Lordship will, I hope, impute it to my earnestness, and the disagreeableness of seeing ourselves becoming cyphers in the State. I shall be obliged to you for a free communication of your sentiments, as my own attendance will be according. I am extremely glad to hear Lady Rockingham continues in good health and spirits, and am very sincerely, with great esteem,

Your faithful, humble servant,

MANCHESTER."

Although neither Wilkes nor Horne Tooke can be said to have represented the opinions of any Parliamentary Whig section, yet the fashion of following some political chieftain extended to the city, and while the editor of the North Briton and his friends showed a disposition to support Lord Rockingham, his reverend rival, together with Townshend and Oliver, were generally considered favourable to Lords Chatham and Shelburne.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO MR. DOWDESWELL.

"DEAR DOWDESWELL. *December* 19*th*, 1771.

When I received it (your letter,) I was going in a day or two to Doncaster, and from thence to Newmarket, and as there were many matters in it which I thought would be right to consider over with some of our friends, I then delayed answering till I had seen the Duke of Portland, Sir George Savile, Saunders, Keppel, and Lord John, &c.

The month of October afforded me the opportunity of seeing all of them; some at Newmarket, some in London, and some in the country.

Your idea, they all approved, and when I saw Mr. Burke in London, he also concurred in the opinion that *our friends* should act entirely upon their own judgment, and not suffer themselves to be hurried on by any of the precipitate, rash, and ill-designing men, who I think have now fortunately almost lost all possible credit with the public. Horne and Townshend's conduct has I trust, blasted them, for some time at least, and I hope Mr. Townshend's having at length recollected that after his declaration in the House of Commons, he should not have paid the land tax, will not much avail him*

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* Townshend declared in the House of Commons that he would not pay the land tax, on the ground that, in the case of Wilkes and Luttrell,

What you particularly mentioned in regard to some questions to be put to Lord Chatham, we all agreed was a matter of much nicety, and not very easy to make the subject of *a letter*.

You know him well enough to know that his answers would certainly be exceeding polite, very expressive of his infinite regard, &c.; but that they would not be peremptory and decisive, even against Townshend and Horne, &c. When I saw Tommy Townshend in London, I asked him whether he had seen Lord Chatham since *Horne's publication*. He said he had, and that he was *displeased* with it; but I rather collected that Lord Chatham suppressed his *indignation*.

I think of being in London about a week before Parliament meets; perhaps then Lord Chatham may be very properly talked to by one, two, or more of us, and we may digest what lines we must draw.

The public and opposition seem at present asleep, but yet I don't find the least variation among any of those we call *our friends*. I don't hear any political news of any differences, &c., in Administration: Government, as it is called, goes on, without the least share of national confidence and meeting with many rebuffs. I suppose the Spanish matters are again likely to subside without much notice being taken. The delivering up of Falkland's Island to Captain Storr will be much boasted of. The objections made to *our men of war* coming frequently

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the county of Middlesex was not legally represented. The Speaker coolly replied, that that was a question which the law would decide. Townshend suffered his effects to be seized for non-payment.

into Spanish ports, has always appeared to me to be the most probable cause of any serious quarrel if any arises.

I had intended writing to you immediately on my return here in November—some business prevented me at first, and then the Duke of Portland's trials coming on made me stop to wait their decision. . . . .

I am sure you would infinitely rejoice in the Court of Exchequer's having nonsuited Sir James Lowther on the grant of the Forest of Inglewood. I suppose you know that the precise ground taken on which the non-suit was founded, was upon the grant to Sir James Lowther having only reserved 18*s.* 4*d.* instead of one *third* of the value, which by the the Act in Queen Anne's reign is particularly directed in all future grants.

The special verdict on the soccage of Carlisle is somewhat on a different ground, but I hope and trust will ultimately end equally advantageous to the Duke of Portland. . . . .

ROCKINGHAM."

The King went to the House of Lords on the 21st of January 1772, and opened the Session with a speech from the throne. The usual address was agreed to without a debate.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

GOODWOOD, *January* 21*st*, 1772.

"I WISH I could have been in to day, as my idea was to have opposed the Address upon the ground of the general objection to the present Ministry. I would have endeavoured to give a taste of all our complaints; said I remained of the same sentiments of the people in power; that the Court had found means by bribery and undue influence, to secure the Parliament and divide opposition; that in this moment no good could be done by teasing; that I should observe, and at any time be ready to join in any reasonable prospect of lessening the influence of the Crown, which I looked upon to be the great evil; that if others did the same, Ministers might employ their time in the leisure of peace to form good schemes for the public.

They could now have no excuse of being plagued by opposition, but that I should rather think the length of rope would only make them hang themselves, and that unanswered by opposition, they would grow more daring and oppressive, till at last the people would bear it no longer, and restore the Constitution. This is what I meant to have said: it contains my sentiments and appears to me the only national scheme; but though I have sometimes the reputation of obstinacy, *you* know I am not so, and readily yield my opinion as to modes of proceeding to that of our friends.

I say I am sorry I have lost the opportunity of the first day of the Sessions, as I don't know when another may offer, to say my say, if you approve that it should be said. I have not an idea that any business can come on; if there does, let me know the day, and I will come up; if not my motions will be guided by my own conveniency."

In Lord Rockingham's letter after the 19th Dec. 1771, from which extracts have been made, he enquires of Mr. Dowdeswell: "Do you believe in the old proverb, that the devil owed some folks a shame? Sir J. Lowther's defeat—Jerry Dyson's lost pension, &c., and the strict alliance with the Luttrell family are generally considered in that light."

The words hardly need explanation: Sir James Lowther had just been non-suited in his charge against the Duke of Portland. Dyson, to whom, the Court, in 1770, granted an Irish pension of 500*l.* for his life and that of his three sons, had been struck off the list by the Irish House of Commons; and Mrs. Horton, a daughter of Lord Irnham and sister of Colonel Luttrell, the Court member for Middlesex, had just been married to the King's brother, Henry Duke of Cumberland.

When the marriage became known the King forbade his brother the Court, but the manifestation of the royal displeasure did not deter another brother, the Duke of Gloucester, from avowing his marriage with Laura Walpole, the beautiful widow of the Earl of Waldegrave.

On the 20th of February the King sent a message to both Houses of Parliament, recommending a law to be passed to guard the descendants of George II. from marrying without the Sovereign's consent. The Bill was strenuously opposed by Lord Rockingham, in the Peers, and by Mr. Dowdeswell, in the Commons. On the 13th of March the House went into committee on the Bill, Mr. Welbore Ellis in the chair.

The only account of the proceedings on that day is contained in the following letter :—

MR. BEAUMONT HOTHAM TO MR. JOHN LEE.

Saturday night, March 14*th,* 1772.

"DEAR LEE,

Though I have not time to give you a particular account of the debate of yesterday, as I am this moment returned from the Marquis, and it is near eleven o'clock, yet I cannot let the post out, without telling you, that we have rallied much better than I expected. The great champion of the day was the Speaker ; * but I believe before he had finished his speech, the Ministry conceived him to be more their enemy than their friend, though he spoke warmly for the preamble of the Bill as it now stands, asserting this immemorial right in the Crown. Dunning lost his speech as he did not come in till pretty late. But Cornewall † answered him inimitably well. His speech was much attacked, and he was obliged to be perpetually rising to explain himself. Thurlow thought the royal family went *ad infinitum.* The Speaker thought it would be monstrous if it did. That it certainly did not—it was accurately defined; not by any rule, but by certain principles. Those principles were proximity to the Crown; and if anybody would state a particular case to him, he would tell them whether the principle attacked other people. Not thinking this so clear and precise, and defined, as it seemed to be to him, many, Dick Sutton * and General Conway particularly, expressed themselves as highly apprehensive of the dreadful discretion that would thereby be left to the person who was to decide upon that proximity.

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* Sir Fletcher Norton.

† Charles Wolfran Cornewall, member for Grampound, was descended from an ancient Herefordshire family, "a sensible lawyer." He (according to Walpole) married a sister of the first Earl of Liverpool; became a Lord of the Treasury in 1774, and Lord Chatham upon the occasion of the offer being made him, writes, "If he accepts, Government makes a very valuable and accredited instrument of public business. His character is respectable, and his manners and life amiable. Such men are not to be found every day." His style of speaking was easy, agreeable, and persuasive ; and these advantages were set off by a fine figure, a sonorous voice, and dignified deportment.

Morton differed from both Thurlow and Sir Fletcher, and the lawyers were a good deal roasted, and the question not much improved by the glorious uncertainty that must follow. Quære: upon this state of it, how does the Duke of Cumberland's marriage stand? Is he of *that proximity* to the Crown, as to be included in the royal family or not? For Sir Fletcher was clear that his marriage could only be good, by his being included in the description of the royal family under the Marriage

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He continued a junior Lord of the Treasury till 1780, when he was chosen Speaker. In some verses in the Rolliad, attributed to Fitzpatrick, he thus appears:—

"There Cornewall sits, and, oh, unhappy fate!
Must sit for ever through the long debate.
Painful pre-eminence! he hears 'tis true,
Fox, North, and Burke, but hears Sir Joseph, too.
Like sad Prometheus fastened to his rock,
In vain he looks for pity to the clock.
In vain th' effect of strength'ning porter tries,
And nods to Bellamy for fresh supplies."

* Richard Sutton, of Norwood Park, member for St. Alban's; created a baronet in September of this year. Grandfather of the present baronet.

Act. I have not time to say more, than that we divided upon the question of those words, asserting such right in the Kings of England, standing part of the preamble, 164 to 200. I hope we shall not divide worse to-morrow. Pray remember me to Eden; and tell Wallace,* with my compliments, that we strongly suspected on our side of the House, that he knew the Speaker's intended speech, and that he did not therefore much choose to stay to be obliged to contradict him, and much less to assent to his doctrine; for Lockhart and I being there, it was not generally known to be necessary for him to set out so early. You will have the whole of this extraordinary debate from Lockhart, and therefore Adieu.

B. HOTHAM."

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

GOODWOOD,
Sunday night, February 16th, 1772.

"MY DEAR LORD,

I have just received your letter, and if the Bill to regulate the marriages of the Royal Family does ever come forth (of which I still doubt), I shall entirely agree with your Lordship in thinking it ought to be opposed, if it turns out to be what we supposed, or rather heard it was to be. But I do not think the time of the message being sent to the House of Lords the proper moment for opposing it, for till the message comes, we cannot be supposed, and in all probability really shall not know the purport of it. It would, therefore, be very difficult to be prepared to object to a matter we are not acquainted with; besides, if they are wise, the message will be conceived in very general terms; such as, that his Majesty wishes his Parliament to make such salutary *Regulations as they shall think proper*, or some such wide expressions. To this the King will undoubtedly echo thanks and assurances as vague as the message. The next step will be the formation of a Bill by the Ministry. We cannot tell what this Bill will be till it appears. In decency they will give some time between the first and second reading, and that period is, in my opinion, the most proper for opposition. If, indeed, we could hope to persuade, a warning before they are dipped too far might be the best method; but as we can do little more than show our disapprobation of, and enter our protest (neither of which, nor any endeavour we can make will have the least impression), we may be satisfied with doing all we can, and take advantage of the blunder they will undoubtedly make, and expose them at the second reading.

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* James Wallace, member for Horsham; afterwards Attorney-General.

For these reasons I propose not going to London for Thursday. If I was in town, I should have the curiosity to attend the House, but I do not think it worth while going to London on purpose for it, especially as I am far from well, and wish to enjoy the little hunting there is left. But whenever you inform me the second reading is fixed, I will certainly attend, if you desire it, and think it worth while. In the meantime, if you think of dividing on Thursday, send me a proxy for yourself by express, and I will sign it. Adieu, my dear Lord.

I am ever very sincerely, Yours,

RICHMOND."

In the course of the debate on the Royal Marriage Act, Dowdeswell contended that "men who were by law allowed at one-and-twenty to be fit for governing the realm, might well be supposed capable of choosing and governing a wife."

Upon this part of the speech the following squib went the round of the papers.

"Quoth Dick to Tom—'This act appears
  Absurd as I'm alive:
To take the Crown at eighteen years,
  The wife at twenty-five.
The myst'ry how shall we explain,
  For sure, as Dowdeswell said,
Thus early if they're fit to *reign*,
  They must be fit to *wed*.'
Quoth Tom to Dick—'Thou art a fool,
  And little knowst of life:
Alas! 'tis easier far to rule
  A kingdom than a wife.'"

On the 15th March, Dowdeswell moved to leave out the words in the preamble containing the assertion of the royal prerogative. The amendment was rejected by 200 against 164.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

WELBECK.
Monday, two o'clock A.M., *March* 16*th*, 1772.

"MY DEAR LORD,

Considering the numbers of which the House of Commons consists, I see no other cause of exultation in the division on Dowdeswell's amendment to the preamble, than in the probability of the inability of Administration to procure an attendance on this absurd, impolitic, arbitrary, and unchristian Bill, and when I reflect on the temper of the times, the mould of the House, and the *persuasive* arts *of the Court*, I cannot be very sanguine in my hopes of success. I stated the case very fairly and fully to my brother, and he determined to do all the little service in his power by coming up, and will, therefore, send this letter to you as soon as he gets to town. I am neither surprised at the tricks that have been played upon you, nor the unseemly consequences with which they were attended in respect to part of our friends: those who were cajoled will sooner or later find it out, and not be much inclined to forget (at least) the deceit. Those who were angry will, on the contrary, not be difficult to forgive you, and as our character is essential to, and is even the soul of our existence as a party, and is inseparable from us, as well in a private as a public view, I am much obliged to you for doing me the justice to think that I should have opposed with the most invariable steadiness any submission or concession whatsoever for the sake of numbers. It seems rather extraordinary, when one reflects for a moment upon the characters of those who wish to ally themselves with us on the present occasion, that there should be a wish for any such appearance as might induce the world to suspect an union among us. The mere winning over the names of those who have taken an active part on the same side of the question as ourselves, I should have conceived would have expunged such an idea; and as for my own part, I am free to confess, that whatever might have been my expectations of defeating this odious measure, I would have renounced them wholly and absolutely rather than have deviated one tittle from the plan which my notions of strict right had suggested, and which consistently with my principles I thought myself bound to support. So far for the doctrines of my political creed on this and all other public matters. I will not detain you any longer than most heartily to wish you success on this ground, and to assure you that I am, &c.

PORTLAND."

A bill was brought into Parliament this year for the Relief of Protestant Dissenters. After passing the Commons, it was brought up to the Lords, and read a second time on the 19th of May.

An effective support was given to the Bill by Lords Chatham, Lyttleton, Shelburne, and by the Duke of Richmond. The latter "enforced its expediency in a speech that equalled pleased and delighted his auditory."*

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* Parliamentary History.

The Bill was rejected by 73 to 29. The following letter was written shortly prior to its introduction.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

GOODWOOD, *April 26th*, 1772.

"MY DEAR LORD,

* * * *

I suppose this letter will find you returned from Newmarket, rich or poor, as Mr. Singleton and other grooms have chose. But the subject of this letter is to inform your Lordship that I have had many applications from the Dissenters in Sussex and in London, desiring my assistance in the support of their Bill to release their ministers from subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles. As I think the Bill a just one, founded on reason, good policy, and the true principles of Whiggism and toleration, I have promised to support it. I conclude you have had like applications, and am persuaded that your giving it a warm support will greatly recommend you to that weighty body of men, the Dissenters, who all over England are very powerful, and who stick pretty much together. I confess I wish you the more to be well with them, as their religious principles and our political ones are so very similar, and most probably will make us generally act together.

I wish, therefore, you would see some of their leading men, and write to as many Lords as you possibly can to attend, for I understand the scheme of the Ministry is to throw it (the Bill) out in the House of Lords by the

Bishops. Now the more of your friends appear in the list of the minority the better. . . . .

RICHMOND."

The languor, as to public affairs, continued to prevail throughout the year. The majority of the opposition were in favour of abstaining altogether from attendance in Parliament. Sir George Savile's sentiments upon this point were as follows:—

"All I know or think on this subject may be expressed in few words. I do not see anything that by any means calls for a secession, or will justify it, either to our own minds, or in the opinion of mankind, our constituents, or our friends.

Constitutional and *fundamental* are the essential characters; I mean, that is the kind of question to which the solemnity of secession specifically applies. Nothing but the vastness of the degree can make it right, I think, in questions of economy, &c., &c.

I suppose we are agreed that in things we like the least we are not likely to succeed in opposition. Debate is, nevertheless, useful and right in some of these; where it is not, there remains only *secession* or *protest*: I think the last seems to apply with some propriety in the present case; I mean particularly the giving up the management of the East Indies to Government; this tends, indeed, I allow, to such *constitutional* consequences as might entitle it by my rule to be a *secession* case, but not obviously, nor certainly, nor immediately enough;

nor in the opinion of enough people. Now an unattended secession is a poor business.

I would lose no opportunity of foretelling, with a gravity arising from the subject, the fatal consequences (constitutional ones) we dread from it. I don't see we can do any more.

I am sorry I cannot go along with all the sentiments about East India affairs. My remarks would have too much the air of prejudice. I'll only tell you one, (page 10th, Mr. Dowdeswell's packet,) '*any private merchant might avow, &c., without risk to our credit.*' Oh no, certainly not, if he was known to be always running from his counting-house to bull-baitings, and cock-matches, and kept company with fencing masters, and quarter-staff players, and bruisers, and spent *all his money* and more in quarrels and broils and amongst his brave acquaintance. Would you have any more?"

A measure which from time to time has been considered a grand panacea for the ills of Ireland, was brought forward in the summer of 1773 by the Government, in the Irish House of Commons—a tax upon absentees. A very general resistance to the measure was offered by the owners of the soil in the sister island. A letter signed "Devonshire, Rockingham, Bessborough, Milton, and Upper Ossory was in consequence addressed to Lord North, remonstrating against the measure. In this document they say:—

TO LORD NORTH.

LONDON, *October*.

"WE possess considerable landed property in both kingdoms. Our ordinary residence is in England. We have not hitherto considered such residence as an act of delinquency to be punished, or as a political evil to be corrected by the penal operation of a partial tax.

We have had many of us our birth and our earliest habits in this kingdom, some of us have an indispensable public duty, and all of us (where such duty does not require such restriction) have the right of free subjects of choosing our habitation in whatever part of his Majesty's dominions we shall esteem most convenient.

We cannot hear without astonishment of a scheme by which we are to be stigmatised by what is, in effect, a fine for our abode in this country, the principal member of the British empire, and the residence of our common Sovereign.

We have ever borne a cordial, though not an exclusive, regard to the true interest of Ireland, and to all its rights and liberties, to none of which we think our residence in Great Britain to be in the least prejudicial, but rather the means in very many cases of affording them a timely and effectual support.

We cannot help considering this scheme as in the highest degree injurious to the welfare of that kingdom as well as of this. Its manifest tendency is to lessen the value of all landed property there, to put restrictions upon it unknown in any part of the British dominions, and, as far as we can find, without a parallel in any civilised country. It leads directly to a separation of these kingdoms in interest and affection, contrary to the standing policy of our ancestors, which has been at every period, and particularly at the glorious Revolution, inseparably to connect them by every tie both of affection and interest."

A few letters on the proposed tax, selected from a bulky correspondence, are here given.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF BESSBOROUGH

September 21*st*, 1773.

"Your Lordship can best judge how such a scheme as a tax upon absentees may or may not be likely to be adopted by the Irish Parliament. The measure in itself may at first sight appear plausible, and become popular in Ireland, but in the end undoubtedly be prejudicial even to that country. That an *English* Privy Council should adopt such a measure I cannot think probable; for undoubtedly their preventing large sums of money being spent *here* in England would not be a popular measure on this side of the water. It may be the policy of a weak Court to strike at opulence in order to restrain independency; but it will require some boldness to make such a stroke as this. I doubt whether a minister who should advise the King to tax absentees from Ireland for living here might not be *impeachable*. We have a right to protection; we have committed no crime; our property is our own; we have a right to spend it where we please. We might, indeed, if such a law passed, be in a curious situation: we might avoid the tax by occasional residence in Ireland, but his Majesty might treat us with a *ne exeat Regno*, and oblige us to pay the tax. If such a law was to pass, I agree with your Lordship, that it would greatly lower the value of all the landed property in Ireland; but in truth the adopting such a principle as this law would go upon, would have still greater and important consequences. The value of all the funds in England would be deeply affected; for, on this principle, all the interest money paid to foreigners must be soon charged with a *tax*. If your Lordship, and I, and the absentees suffer from the suggestions of a wild Irish Parliament, what security will the foreigners have, after such an example, that they may not suffer from the suggestions of a corrupt English Parliament. . . . .

I cannot help suspecting there is a little degree of trick in its having been so strongly stated to your Lordship; for, undoubtedly, the Ministry will wish that, if it is proposed in Ireland, it may be objected to by your Lordship's friends there; and it will sufficiently answer the good purposes of the Ministers here, if they can create confusion among all parties in Ireland."

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

GOODWOOD, *October* 31*st*, 1773.

"BOTH your Lordship's to Lord North, and your circular letter, seem to me well wrote and full of sound argument, and upon the whole I think every dispassionate man will consider the measure as liable to the objections you urge against it; and yet I confess I cannot wonder at the Irish, who in every instance are so unjustly treated by this country, endeavouring to catch at any means of recovering some part of the money which regularly goes out of their country, and which this country will not allow them the fair chance of commerce to recover. This is, in fact, a tax upon England to assist Ireland; as such I think the Irish would be very right to attempt it, if it was not at the same time unjust and partial upon the individuals on whom it falls. As such I think we ought not to consent to it as Englishmen; but the Irish have much to say in their defence, though they should admit it partial and unjust, by considering it a just retaliation for the partial and unjust treatment they receive from us: for—as you may truly say, *Why am I not allowed the free enjoyment and full profits of my estate because I live in England; is that a crime?*—the Irish trader, and even landed men, may also say, *Why am I not allowed the free enjoyment and full profits of my trade and the produce of my land because I live in Ireland; is that a crime?* When once a system of partiality is established, when one part of our dominions are excluded from any advantage for the benefit of another part, one must expect retaliation when in their power.

But notwithstanding this, though I think the Irish very excusable in wishing this tax, I think the English would be very inexcusable to suffer it. I am not for retaliating injuries among brothers; I am for having the original evil redressed; though I fear there is no great probability of that, and that a counterbalancing injustice may bring things more upon a par. Yet I am not for obtaining justice by multiplying injuries. Should it, therefore, ever come before Parliament I should be against this measure."

SIR GEORGE SAVILE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

SANDBECK.
Friday morning, November 5th, 1773.

"I AM a little afraid, to say the truth, of the very thing you seem to foresee, and that is that I should get warmed on one side of the question before I have considered both. At present, although I am inclined to think the scheme is wrong, yet I am obliged to confess that I neither see it so certainly to be wrong, nor to be so largely wrong as it is stated in the letter to Lord North, which is to my apprehension drawn up exceedingly well, and from which alone I am for that very reason afraid to form a decided opinion. I have not yet seen as well drawn a paper on the other side. In truth, I cannot quite so much wonder at the measure being adopted in Ireland. Perhaps it may be unjust, but I would not undertake to prove it so. It is a case which would on that side the water bear argument. We are two nations, not one. In money matters absolutely, in some matters hostile, for we have a separate purse. If *you* was to be taxed in Northamptonshire for not living there, it would be absurd; but if Northamptonshire had a separate purse, and all her landlords went and enriched neighbour counties, I don't know exactly how far I should think I might go if I were a Northamptonshire man.

If, in considering the two nations as hostile, I am right in excusing *them*, the same argument condemns the approbation of it here; for if it be good for Ireland, as having a separate interest, to make her landlords reside, or to impoverish them who do not, it is for every reason just as bad for England, and England has the power.

The argument deduced from the right of residing where one will, *within the dominions*, is, I likewise think, carried full as far as it will bear. I am a prisoner, it is true, if I am forbid by the State to use my right of travelling about, but a tax upon wheels is not an infringement upon liberty. I know I am a little sophistical in stating it thus, and I mean to be as much beyond the truth as one may, as that argument of the *impeachment of liberty* is the other. The truth may be between them, but, doubtless, if a State finds that, by a number of its subjects enjoying their property in one particular way they become less useful to their country, a tax may surely be laid to *compensate* to the public the *difference*; and whether the pernicious luxury be in wearing *foreign* ruffles or breathing *foreign* air, I may be taxed in the consumption of it. I always understood the 5*l.* tax on the non-militia counties not as a punishment for delinquency, but an equivalent to be paid by those who did not choose to raise their quota of men. This is what I have to argue, speaking as a *resident Irishman.* Ireland *contra* Great Britain is the idea the plan continually suggests to me, and, this hostility once established, I am bound to confess that England might double tax all persons who, having English estates, live in Ireland. When America begins to entice our rich, as it does now our people, we shall have this last proposition more fairly before us.

But all this is the theoretic subtlety and the metaphysics of the question. The question is now more immediately, what steps should be taken here, and I do certainly very reluctantly allow the propriety and correctness of what has been done, as likewise of being heard by counsel. The absentees have as good a right to act, when their interest is concerned, as other subjects have; and thus is so far a matter not to be mealy-mouthed about. This extends, as far as I understand, to the Privy Council after the Bill comes over. But, after the Bill is passed and approved, do you mean to attack the measure in Parliament? In other opposition points, I know it is no reason to sit still because you will be beat. Stirring and resisting are the life of opposition, and principles are to be maintained when you can't withstand the effects: and an uniformity of conduct is inconsiderate of one's character, to be supported in defeats as well as victories; but I do not see much of these ends to be answered here. If no share ought justly to follow, yet little credit is got when one is interested: having a day of it, as the phrase is, will not, as far as I can see, get us much laurels. I am sure having a night of it (which would be the fact) will be worse to me than a land-tax.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM DOWDESWELL.

November 30*th*, 1773.

"YESTERDAY afternoon an account came from Ireland that the Absentee Bill was *rejected* after a debate till two o'clock in the morning. The majority were twenty to one hundred and six."

The paper-war, which broke out between John Wilkes and the Rev John Horne in 1771, continued to rage for two or three years with unabated vigour. But the popular sympathies went in favour of the lay combatant. All the abuse that his reverend rival could heap upon him seemed only the more strongly to cement the attachment of his partisans. It was in vain that his profligacy, his habits of begging, and his shabbiness in money-matters, were set forth; even his hideous aspect found admirers in men who could perceive no defect in the obliquity of his conduct, or even of his vision. "What a handsome man is Master Wilkes!" said one of this stamp. "But surely," said the person addressed, "he squints horribly." "Why yes," said his eulogist, "he does squint a little; but not more than a gentleman ought to do." No one who dissented from any of the political opinions of this idol could expect to find favour in the city. Alderman Oliver, recently liberated from the prison to which he had been consigned for his defence of the liberty of the press, refusing to coalesce with John Wilkes for the shrievalty, found himself at the bottom of the poll, while his opponent, and his opponent's nominee, Frederick Bull, were declared the successful candidates. As for John Horne, his effigy, in full canonicals, was consumed in a bonfire before the Mansion House on the day of the election. For three successive years Wilkes was elected Lord Mayor by the Livery, but the Court of Aldermen not confirming the choice, it was not till 1774 he filled that office. The year preceding, indeed, he might have ascended the civic throne, as, in the process of what is called "scratching," the numbers for himself and Bull were equal, but he chose to throw his own vote into the scale of his friend.

It was on the day on which his fellow-citizens had virtually declared him the fittest person to be chief magistrate of the wealthiest city in the world, that he wrote the following letter:—

MR. JOHN WILKES TO MR. PRICE.*

Princes Court.
Saturday, November 6th, 1773.

"My dear Price,

I am sorry the city business, and the Lord Mayor elect, will prevent me enjoying your company to-day at the Beef-steak Club. The Lord Mayor has ordered you a dinner-ticket for Tuesday, as he ought, in all gratitude, and perhaps you will amuse yourself with our—

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* Chase Price, member for Radnorshire.

> "Pomp without quiet, of bloodless words and maces,
> Gold chains, warm furs, broad banners, and broad faces." *

I don't know who is your banker, but I know you are the best I ever had; and as I am poorer now than for a monstrous long time, I shall be much obliged to you, if you could contrive for me a note of 150*l.* in two months or thereabouts, which would bring it to about the time you mentioned, a little after Christmas. It might be to bearer, and then any name would do. If you had a very small bank-note useless in any idle corner of your bureau, I should thank you for it in part. Forgive all this, and believe me most gratefully yours. Good-morrow."

A copy of this note was forwarded to Lord Rockingham by Mr. Price, with the following from himself:—

CHASE PRICE ESQ. TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"MY DEAR LORD, *November* 16*th*,—(1773.)

Inclosed I send you a letter from J. Wilkes upon the subject of *cash*, which he wrote to me a few days ago. In consequence of it, I gave 10*l.*, and my note payable to bearer, immediately after Christmas, for 140*l.*; supposing that, as the Dukes of Devonshire and

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* Pope.

Portland continued *another year* their gratuity, your Lordship would have no particular objection.

There is 120*l.* arrear due to your humble servant from the Marquis of Rockingham, viz.—100*l.*, the remaining of that original present to J. Wilkes when he was sheriff; and 20*l.* on account of John Cleveland, and to whom also the aforesaid Duke has contributed. If your Lordship should find yourself in cash by Christmas, I should be very much obliged to you for it.

Congratulating you upon your success against the Absentee tax,

I remain, with great truth,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's faithful friend, and obedient
Humble servant,
C. PRICE."

CHAPTER IX.

ALARMING ASPECT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES.—RESISTANCE TO TEA DUTY.—BOSTON PORT BILL.—LETTER OF A COLONIST TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.—LETTER OF THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO MR. DEMPSTER.—DAVID HARTLEY.—THE EARL OF MANSFIELD.—LETTER OF THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO EARL MANSFIELD.

The public attention which the conduct of John Wilkes had so long monopolised, was now about to be directed towards the affairs of America, which began to assume a most alarming appearance.

The duties which had been laid by Charles Townshend, on various articles, exported from Great Britain into America, after scattering confusion, riot and discontent for three years, were at length repealed with the single exception of that on tea. The retention of this one tax, which Lord Rockingham at the time, stigmatised, as an "uncommercial, unproductive, pepper-corn rent;" neutralised the healing effect that would have been produced by the abandonment of the others: most extensive resistance to the duty, which the Americans looked upon "as the small end of the wedge," was offered by all the colonies.

At Boston, before any tea could be landed, a mob disguised as Mohawk Indians boarded the ships, broke open the tea-chests, and emptied their contents into the sea.

When Parliament re-assembled, in January, 1774, the King's speech observed a profound silence on colonial subjects, but on the 4th of March, a large mass of American papers were submitted to both Houses, and a series of coercive measures grounded upon them were introduced by Lord North.

As Massachusetts had evinced a greater spirit of resistance to the Government than any of the other colonies; upon that province, and upon Boston its capital, the vials of ministerial wrath were most abundantly poured. One Bill brought forward by the Minister, went to take from Boston its privileges as a port; another, to deprive Massachusetts of its charter; a third, to send all persons indicted in that province for capital offences, to take their trial in England; and a fourth, to quarter troops on the inhabitants. Of this most important session the "Parliamentary history" furnishes but three debates in the House of Lords on the subject of America. It appears by the Lords' Journals, that on the 29th of March the Bill to discontinue the landing of goods in the harbour of Boston, was directed to be "reported to the House," without any amendment. "The passage of the Ports Bill, through the Lords," writes Chatham, "*nemine dissentiente,* is more than I expected, or, I believe, than the Ministers hoped. They cannot at least now complain of their hands being weakened by factious opposition; so that all the sad train of misery and confusion, which harsh, and short-sighted measures will, I apprehend, draw after them, can be charged only on their own inevitable tendency." *

THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM DOWDESWELL TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Upper Brook Street, April 8th, 1774.

"My Lord,

I called yesterday on Burke, and found him writing to the Duke of Richmond. It has occurred to him, that the entry in the minutes of the Lords, that the Boston Port Bill passed *nem. dis.* furnished good matter for a complaint, a debate, a division, and a protest. Indeed I think it does; it has been very unusual, and it is very [unfair ?] to pretend unanimity at passing the Bill, after the question for committing it had been regularly opposed. You will be over-ruled in a motion for expunging those words. This will give you excellent ground, not only to arraign the unfair proceeding, but to assert and publish your American principles, as well as the ground upon which you opposed that Bill, and continue to dislike it. This will be the more material because I think it probable that you will have no other opportunity of dividing and protesting; and as great pains are taken to run us down, it is absolutely necessary that we should show ourselves firm, and adhering to our principles; otherwise we shall be given out as acquiescing in our condemnation.

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* Chatham Correspondence, vol. iv., p. 342.

If your Lordship thinks this a right measure, it will be necessary to take it early, and to call to town, those Peers who will attend it. I think you will show a good number, and if there are any of our friends, who might hesitate at the assertion of our American principles, they may, however, concur in the motion for expunging, though they might decline signing the protest. As the measure appears to me very right, I could not decline offering to your Lordship my thoughts upon it; and I am sorry that I had it not in my power to write by last night's post. As all our friends should be in town, no time should be lost in sending for them; for the next week ought not to pass over without bringing on the business, or at least without opening it by fixing an early day in the following week for the Lords to be summoned.

I am, with great truth,
Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
W. DOWDESWELL."

To the whole series of the ministerial measures of coercion Lord Rockingham offered a most strenuous resistance, yet there were some of his followers who thought the violent proceedings of the inhabitants of Boston should not be allowed to go unpunished. Of this number was the Duke of Manchester who, in a letter to Lord Rockingham, of the 20th of April, 1774, states his objections to oppose the Government in this instance.

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

April 20th, 1774.

"Will you permit me, in consequence of what you mentioned to me yesterday, to recommend once more to your consideration the Bill in agitation for regulating the charter of Massachusetts Bay, and to suggest to you that an opposition to this particular Bill may possibly not meet in the public with so favourable a reception as the rectitude of your Lordship's intentions must naturally lead you to expect. The high spirit of the people of England is certainly at this moment irritated against the outrages of the Bostonians; and the doctrine they now avow of their absolute independency of this kingdom leads many moderate men to wish Government may succeed to reduce them within the bounds of law and order. Under these circumstances I own I was, for one, much pleased with the plan your Lordship and your friends at first proposed, of remaining spectators, without throwing any embarrassment in the way of Government on these particular measures. Had this plan hitherto been strictly adhered to, your friends might, with much more dignity and effective weight, come forth as protectors of American liberty, when the voice of the people here excited by reiterated strides of Government towards establishing an unconstitutional power in America, had called upon you for assistance: that time seems not yet to be come, and if we are now to oppose, I must say we must do so on the coldest scent, without even the most distant prospect of ever reaching the game. With regard to myself, I have not the vanity to think the measures I may take can be of much importance, yet am really under a sincere concern on finding myself obliged to differ from you: I would willingly distrust my own judgment, and endeavour to convince myself I am wrong, but my Lord, it strikes me that the northern governments in America do call loudly for reformation, and though the Bill in question might allow many amendments, yet I had rather pass it as it is, than leave the people of Boston in such a state of democratic anarchy; one alteration would, I think, greatly improve it, and might, with justice, be added to the power that gives the appointment of the Judges of the Crown, and that is to render them independent as they now are in England; but I do not expect any attention from Administration, was this proposed. I fear you may think I am holding ministerial language. I do not mean to be so understood; on the contrary, am ready to join with you in withstanding the Military Bill, that is to follow, and on this ground think our opposition will be better received. I have, with the freedom of a friend, laid my thoughts before you, which must plead my excuse if my observations appear trivial. Whatever your Lordship may resolve on, believe me to be with the greatest regard, &c."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER.

"My dear Lord, *April 20th*, 1775.

I was prevented by company from returning an immediate answer to your Grace's letter this morning, and as I wished to answer some of the parts with a degree of precision, I delayed writing till I had a little quiet time this evening.

I confess I do not quite assent that *we* ever fixed upon a plan of being *mere spectators* of the measures which Administration might propose on the present situation of affairs in America. I think *we* early saw that it would be necessary for us *occasionally* to mark strongly our disapprobation, where we felt it might become us; and though I may agree with your Grace that it will be of little avail, till the nation at large have seen and felt the inconveniences which may arise from the violent measures, yet I think if, in the times of the passing of those measures, we do not show any disapprobation, *we* shall subject ourselves to blame, and the argument which will hereafter be drawn from our silence, or total inactivity, will be either, that we did not dissent, or that we did not foresee the possibility of the inconveniences which may arise. I don't doubt that the Military Bill will, on discussion, appear to require that we should mark our disapprobation of it. Your Grace in this seems to think it would be right to object.

If it would not be inconvenient to your Grace, I could wish to have the honour of seeing you to-morrow evening; I will get three or four of our friends to talk over the Bill relative to alterations proposed to be made in the Government of Massachusetts Bay. I confess I think the overturning the charter under which that province has been settled, &c., and the declaring it forfeited without any hearing on behalf of the province, and merely on a supposition that the authority of Great Britain will be the easier established, is a very strong and arbitrary measure." *

As the Duke of Manchester spoke with much "grace of manner and elegance of language" in favour of Lord Rockingham's views, and as he afterwards joined him in a protest against the Ministerial Coercion Bill, it may be presumed that either the letter or the subsequent interview removed his Grace's scruples.

The circumstance illustrates Burke's remark, that Lord Rockingham "far exceeded all other statesmen in the art of drawing together without the seduction of self-interest, the concurrence and co-operation of various dispositions and abilities of men, whom he assimilated to his character, and associated in his labours." †

The protest on the Massachusetts Justice Administration Bill assigns, among other reasons against its passing into a law, that "after the *proscription of the port*

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* The rest is wanting.

† From Burke's Inscription on the base of the Mausoleum at Wentworth.

of Boston, the *disfranchisement* of the colony of Massachusetts, and the variety of provisions which has been made in this session for new modelling the whole polity and judicature of that province, this Bill is a humiliating confession of the weakness and inefficacy of all the proceedings in Parliament."

It is to be regretted that the author of the letter from which the following extracts are made, should have thought proper to withhold his name. He is evidently a lawyer and a scholar, and making some allowance for his partialities as a colonist at such a crisis (1774), he was in advance of his contemporaries on many points of colonial and economical knowledge.

It is unnecessary to print the whole letter, but the remarks which follow are given, both on their own account, and for the sake of the temperate and dignified reply which they elicited indirectly from Lord Rockingham.

TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

NORTH AMERICA, *February 5th*, 1774.

" MY LORD,

I shall not, my Lord, subscribe my name to this letter, because it would not make me better known to your Lordship, than the name of Titus, or Sempronius: what I wish to engage is your attention to my subject, upon the merit of its extensive and permanent importance.

The colonies, my Lord, ought in my humble opinion to be considered as the instruments of the national commerce, and in this relation, ought to be subject to the laws which the British Legislature may think proper to ordain for their regulation and government.

On the other hand, the colonists are, I conceive, entitled to all the liberties of British subjects, compatible with the control over them, exercisable by the supreme authority of the Mother Country, with a regard to the principle or object of settling plantations; and that of forming, directing, and securing so many instruments of the national commerce; but if the Mother Country may bind the colonies by all laws without limitation, a power so extensive would constitute a direct absolute tyranny; for in no State can the people be entitled to any degree of constitutional liberty, where their consent is not necessary to the validity of any law. The admission that the colonies are entitled to any degree of political liberty, and the assertion that they are subject to all laws of every kind, without their consent, are not to be reconciled: here the objection occurs; if the Parliament cannot make all laws to bind the colonies, the Parliament cannot make any. If this position be just, the consequence is inevitable, either that the colonies are entitled to no degree of civil liberty, or they are entirely independent; but, it seems to me, the objection assumes an improper principle, whence the extreme consequence flows; and permit me, my Lord, to observe, that the principle is so dangerous, as to recommend a doctrine of more equity and moderation to the acceptation of those, who wish to see a mutual confidence and good understanding cultivated between England and her colonies. As I consider your Lordship in this character, so have I presumed to give you this trouble. The principle I have advanced is, that the colonies are subject to such a control as may be necessary to serve the great end and purpose of their settlement, the forming, establishing, and directing so many instruments of the national commerce, and with as strict an analogy and regard to the generous spirit of the British constitution, and the natural rights of mankind, as their relation to the Mother Country will allow. In this view they will be considered as entitled to all the liberty which is not incompatible with the spirit of their institutions; but when, my Lord, it is attempted to substitute a different relation, and that, too, subversive of every degree of liberty, their complaints, discontents, and resistance would be natural. Had the American charter reserved expressly the power to tax, as well as to bind by other laws, such a provision too, would, I suspect, be deemed the clearest proof of a right to tax; it would be insisted on as a direct evidence of the original compact with the colonies coeval with their institution, and precluding all theoretical dispute; if such had been the constitution of the colonies precisely defined in their charters, complaints against a parliamentary tax might be fully answered by a reference to the terms under which the colonists settled in America, and no breach of faith would be imputable to an exercise of the reserved authority of the tax: but, my Lord, neither is this the case; for the spirit of the American charters speaks in these terms, or terms of similar import; when a Bill, imposing a tax upon the colonies without their consent is, with the usual parade, carried up, and presented to the King by the Speaker of the House of Commons, and royal assent is given in this manner; 'Le Roy remercie ses loyaux sujets, accepte leur bénévolence, et aussi le veut;' and when the assurances so clearly expressed in the American charters are adverted to, how admirable must the benevolence of the Commons and the gratitude of the King appear to be? Justice, honour, dignity, good faith—but I will not offend your Lordship by speaking in a style unaccommodated to my feelings.

If the colonists are subject to taxes without their consent, they have no property; for that which a man holds by a tenure so precarious, as the will and pleasure of another, is not his: if, my Lord, usage and charters are to be rejected, either the constitution is defective, and affords no principle of decision, or a principle may be advanced whence decisive inferences may be drawn: if defective in not having exactly defined the condition, how shall the question be decided? merely, my Lord, by a Parliamentary declaration, asserting the power of Parliament over the colonies to be unlimited? —if this be agreeable to the ideas of right and justice, so is any tyranny armed with a power to enforce its mandates. What the consequence may be of their attribute of Parliamentary omnipotence, if it should wean the colonists of all affection towards the Mother

Country, when the progressive rapid population of immense territories shall make them very numerous, it would not derogate from the dignity of Parliament most maturely to consider. A present sullen and reluctant submission to oppression, whilst it cannot be resisted, is a presage not to be disregarded of a future resolute and active opposition, when a prospect of success may encourage and animate exertion.

This idea of the right to tax the colonies by statute, though they are not in any manner represented in Parliament, has, it should seem, occurred since the Stamp Act; for if the right to tax and the right to regulate had been imagined by Mr. Grenville to be inseparable, why did he task his ingenuity to find out a virtual representation? why did not some able friend intimate to him his hazard on the slippery ground he chose, when the all-powerful sovereignty of Parliament might have afforded so safe a footing? and if, because the British Parliament have full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind, the Parliament may also tax, and there is no difference betwen a law to regulate and a law to tax, why may not the British Parliament, in point of right (I say nothing of the point of prudence), tax the Irish as well as the American? When the Mexicans were informed that Pope Alexander the Sixth had given and granted their country to Spain, they exclaimed, 'How can a man be so absurd as to give what does not belong to him!' So have the colonists exclaimed, and so would the Irish, should the British Parliament tax them. If, my

Lord, some conciliatory measure be not prudently adopted, hostile aversions and animosities will produce the mutual distress of the Mother Country and the colonies. Preceding events gave to Magna Charta, the statute *de Tallagio non concedendo:* the Petition of Rights, and the breach of the original contract between the King and people, a contract justly deduced from the spirit and essence of a free Constitution, brought about the Revolution. Permit me, my Lord, to remark, that as an apprehension lest the colonies might be encouraged to claim a fatal independence, if the power to tax them be explicitly relinquished, may have prompted some measure incompatible with the idea of their being entitled to any degree of liberty; so a dread of absolute vassalage, may (on the other hand) prompt them to deny the general superintending authority of Parliament; one extreme pretension being apt to beget another: and, therefore, if my wish might prevail, the line would be distinctly drawn; the boundary be fixed. The rash outrageous behaviour of a mob at Boston will, I fear, provoke interposition more indicative of an indignant resentment, than a prudent attention to circumstances and to the sympathetic connexion of the respective colonies, and this incident suggested to me the design of addressing your Lordship. Riots, my Lord, are not peculiar to the climate of America; their violence has been experienced in England and in Ireland, and worse than the turbulence of mobs has been experienced in Scotland, and yet, the sixteen Peers, and forty-five Members sit in Parliament, whose moderation, I would fain hope, when they reflect upon the disorders which a spirit of rebellion has produced in their own country, without any vindictive statute against all the people of it, will be induced to make indulgent allowances for the irregularity of an American mob, irritated by oppression; and I have great pleasure in counting sixty-one Members of Parliament, representing the Peers and Commons of Scotland (besides other natives of that country having seats in Parliament) who cannot but oppose with energy (if their other avocations should not unhappily hinder their attendance in Parliament) every attempt of a revengeful Minister to punish many innocent, as well as a few guilty men, by a measure of indiscriminating rigour."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO MR. DEMPSTER.*

September 13*th,* 1774.

"I HAD the pleasure to receive your letter at York, and also the letter which you transmitted to me from America. The intentions of the writer are undoubtedly good, and I am obliged to him for the communication of his ideas. I have not time at present to attempt to enter into a discussion of the arguments used, neither probably could it be of any use; for the point in controversy, between this country and the colonies, will never be adjusted by explicit declarations on either side; and if ever a conciliation is brought about, it will be by much remaining unascertained, and by a conviction on one side, and by a confidence on the other, that similar disputes were neither politic nor practicable, and would never be revived again.

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* George Dempster, Esq., of Dunnechen, member for St. Andrew's, an East India Director, a zealous follower of Lord Rockingham, by whom he was made Secretary to the Order of the Thistle, in 1765. "During his public career he was always heard with attention. This did not proceed from his delivery, although easy and fluent, or from his person and address, although the one was handsome and the other both popular and seductive, but from the uprightness of his character, which produced full conviction on all who heard him that his conduct was regulated both by his heart and understanding."—*Public Characters.*

The writer seems to allow that the legislature of this country has a right to bind and regulate the colonies in all *commercial* matters, and supposes that the colonies cannot be harshly or unjustly treated in those articles, because prejudicing the trade of the colonies is hurting ourselves, and contrary to the original purpose for which they were settled; but he says, if the regulations had any reference to raising revenue, then the regulations would be unjust, because it would be for another object, and not for the original purpose for which the colonies had been settled.

I am afraid we have many taxes in this country on articles, which though they affect our commerce, have nevertheless been laid for the purpose of revenue, and I think a declaration couched according to the ideas of the writer, would only be a nest-egg for future disputes. I am glad at least that the writer does acknowledge a right of control over the colonies in regulations of trade *to be* in the *legislature* of this country. I confess I have never been able to draw the line in my mind, between the right in this legislature of binding the colonies by regulations, &c., &c., and the right of this legislature in binding the colonies in all other matters. The colonists carried over with them the rights of Englishmen, and the benefits of English laws, but they subjected themselves to the inconveniences of not being personally represented in the British Parliament; and yet they allowed the laws made subsequent to their migration to be binding over them.

I don't love to claim a right on the foundation of the supreme power of the legislature over all the dominions of the Crown of Great Britain; I wish to find a consent, and acquiescence in the *governed,* and I choose, therefore, to have recourse to what I think an original *tacit compact,* and which usage had confirmed, until the late unhappy financiering project interrupted the union and harmony which had so long prevailed, to the mutual advantage and happiness of this country and its colonies. The writer seems to think, that though there is a Declaratory Bill in regard to Ireland, nearly similar to the one made in respect to the colonies, yet that Ireland is not taxable by a British Parliament; I trust in policy it will not be attempted; but as to the right, it undoubtedly is held to be so. . . . .

You will allow me to joke you about a degree of confidence, unexpected by the writer, that the forty-five North British Members, and the sixteen Peers, would be strong advocates for mild measures. I hope the time will come when they, and all those of his Majesty's Ministers who are violent in the American disputes, will have seen their error, and become desirous of conciliation. When that disposition is apparent, I trust that the mutual and reciprocal interests of the Mother Country and its colonies will be seen on both sides, and that neither side will require direct explanations on punctilios, which now, from passion and ill-humour are become the great stumbling-blocks.—Indeed, the more experience I have had from subsequent events, and the more I have considered the precise line of conduct, and the ideas and arguments on which myself and others repealed the Stamp Act; the more reason I feel to be satisfied that we hit the happy medium for reconciliation. You well know that the warm advocates on this side, for raising revenue in America, were exceedingly enraged at what we did, as they considered it as a total demolition of that object being ever hereafter carried into execution; on the other hand, the warm Americans were dissatisfied that we had left the right of taxation (as it were) hanging over them, and their jealousies were unfortunately too well founded and confirmed, by the unaccountable conduct of those Ministers who succeeded us. Both countries are now suffering from the revival of these disputes, and if it was not for the *point of honour*, perhaps at this moment both sides would be glad that the matter in dispute was buried in silence. The instance of what has occurred in regard to Ireland since the Declaratory Bill respective to Ireland, is a degree of proof that these sort of abstract speculative rights may lie long, and perhaps for ever unagitated again.

I had not intended to have troubled you with so much on this subject at present; not that I have said much, but the little I have, would not, probably, suit the ideas of my American correspondent, and therefore, I could not wish a full communication. When I have the pleasure of meeting you in London, we may talk the matter fully over, but if in the mean time anything should be said from me, it will be best to confine it to general propositions, with thanks, &c., &c."

Among those who took an active part against the coercive policy of the Government towards America, was David Hartley, who, through the interest of Lord Rockingham and Sir George Savile, took his seat for Hull, in the new Parliament. He was the son of the celebrated metaphysician, whose christian and sur-names he bore. He was a distinguished politician, an ingenious projector, and a thoroughly amiable man. For several years prior to his becoming a member of the House of Commons, he was known as a party writer. His most celebrated tract, "The Budget," exposed the fallacies and blunders of George Grenville, while Chancellor of the Exchequer. His last work was a defence of the French Revolution. To Hartley is due the honour of having first moved, in the House of Commons, the suppression of the Slave Trade. He was the intimate friend of Benjamin Franklin, and 1783, was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, and sent to Paris, to conclude with him the peace.

One of the few Tories with whom Lord Rockingham preserved any intimacy, was his uncle, William Murray, Earl of Mansfield, between whom, and himself passed the two sparring letters which follow.

THE EARL OF MANSFIELD TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

KENWOOD, *November* 1*st*, 1774.

"I BROUGHT a packet for you from Paris, and have sent it to your house. I do not know what it is, but it was left with a message that you desired it might be given to me. I am glad to hear that you was under no necessity to go to York; I see you have brought your friend Hartley in; I hope his secret will save the House of Commons from fire; * I wish they knew how to use it in America. I desire my best compliments to Lady Rockingham, and am,

Most affectionately yours, &c."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF MANSFIELD.

"THE packet you was so good as to bring from Paris, contained some music for Lady Rockingham, which the Marquis Voyer d'Argenson, and some other Frenchmen, gentlemen who were here in the summer, had promised to send her through the channel of Lord Stormont. Your

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* The allusion to saving the House of Commons from fire has reference to a scheme of Mr. Hartley's for preventing fire by clothing timbers with thin plates of iron. The invention was much approved at the time, and the Corporation of London voted him the freedom of the city in testimony of their approbation. The project was also patronised by the King; but it was not generally adopted, from the additional expense of two per cent. which it would have caused in building.

Lordship being at Paris, and they possibly having learnt so much as to know our relationship, may have occasioned their sending the packet particularly to you; at all events, we are much obliged to you for bringing it, and to them for sending it so expeditiously.

I am sorry to be confirmed, by your letter, that the affairs in North America are now in so dangerous a state. The allusion, in your letter, to Mr. Hartley's scheme for *preventing* fire and combustion, allow me to say, is not quite applicable. The principle he goes on is, to anticipate the effect of a breath of wind from exciting the embers to burst into flame. May I, then, ask whether the measures of the last, or some preceding years, have been founded upon that principle. I grieve, and am indeed alarmed at the prospect; perhaps no one knows at present to what extent the confusions in North America will arrive to, and perhaps it is still less known and foreseen to what extent they will arrive in this country: the accumulation of ruin and distress which will ensue in this country, from a downright quarrel between America and here, *though it may yet be several months before it is generally felt*, will, in my judgment, create a scene of despair and fury.

I differed with your Lordship in opinion on American affairs very early, and I differed as much with others; I look back without exultation, but with very real satisfaction and content, on the line which I (indeed emphatically *I*) took in the year 1766: no peppercorn was left, the Stamp Act was repealed, and the *doubt* of the right of this country was fairly faced and resisted.

The various hurries and confusions occasioned by the sudden dissolution of Parliament at times quite knocked me up in point of health, though ultimately all elections, where I was in any degree particularly concerned, have ended well, and I am now tolerably well. Lady Rockingham has had a cold, but is greatly better, and desires her best compliments and thanks to your Lordship.

I am, &c."

CHAPTER X.

THE THIRTEENTH PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.—LORD ROCKINGHAM'S ACCOUNT OF AN INTERVIEW WITH LORD CHATHAM.—CHATHAM'S JEALOUSY OF ROCKINGHAM.—LORD CHATHAM'S DENIAL OF THE RIGHT TO TAX AMERICA.—BREAKING OUT OF THE AMERICAN WAR.—ACCOUNT OF HOSTILITIES IN AMERICA, FROM AN ANONYMOUS WRITER.

The thirteenth Parliament of Great Britain, after having sat six years, was dissolved in September. Its successor met in the ensuing November. During the Christmas week Burke writes to Lord Rockingham:—

"One cannot help feeling for the unhappy situation in which we stand from our own unhappy divisions. Lord Chatham shows a disposition to come near you, but with those resources which he never fails to have as long as he thinks that the closet door stands ajar to receive him. The least peep into that closet intoxicates him, and will to the end of his life. However, as he is, and must be looked to, by those that are within and those that are without, it would not be amiss to find out how he proposes to act, and, if possible, to fall in with him in Parliament (on the subject of America) though you may never come to an understanding with him in other politics."

This meeting was afforded by Lord Chatham himself, who, early in January, returned Lord Rockingham's congratulatory visit on the marriage of Lady Hesther Pitt with Viscount Mahon. The conduct of the visitor during the interview is highly characteristic.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO EDMUND BURKE.

"DEAR BURKE, *January 8th*, 1775.

I had *this morning* the *good luck* to be at home when Lord Chatham came to return me my visit I made to him, &c., on the late marriage. I *apologised to him* for receiving him, as in general, in those sort of visits of ceremony, it was usually deemed most *polite not to be at home*, but that I could not refrain from availing myself of so fortunate an opportunity of seeing his Lordship and conversing with him in this very critical situation of affairs, &c. Lord Chatham, in point of looks, is very well, and, in the outset of our conversation, I thought his *countenance* denoted more than a transient appearance of a tendency to something like cordiality; *but* our interview lasted near a *full hour*, and I confess that I was neither much edified, and perhaps had as little reason to be satisfied with some of the ideas, and some of the expressions which he dropped. He *favoured me* with his *opinion*, that the *Declaratory Bill* had been the cause of the *revival of all the confusion*, *that* the line of distinction between the *no* right to tax, and *the right* to restrain their trade, &c., was a most clear proposition. That it might be easily so clearly laid down, that *he who runs may read.* *That*, to be *sure*, some persons might be *prejudiced with different ideas*, but those prejudices should be cleared away by reflection. He added that he would fairly tell me that, in the course of the session, perhaps *early*, though not *immediately*, he should move in the House for a sort of reconsideration of the Declaratory Bill to *amend it*, or make some alterations in it, which might take out the *sting* (or some words to that purport). In the course of our conversation on this matter, you may easily imagine that I did not assent to the Declaratory Bill *having been the cause of all the confusion.*

I availed myself of the resolution of the Congress; I pointed out that, according to the wording of the fourth resolution—the Americans themselves showed that they could not distinguish how they could assent to the restraint being laid, as *by matter of right in this country*, but that they had contented themselves with stating their acquiescence hitherto, as arising partly from expediency and partly from their desire and willingness to be useful and serviceable to this country.

I pressed him upon the difficulty of drawing the distinctions, from the very conduct of the Americans themselves in their resolutions; and I also remarked, and pressed him on the circumstance of the Americans in their *claims of the repeal*, not having called for a repeal of the Declaratory Bill. He said he did not weigh the *words* in the resolutions, but the *general matter*, and that, he said, went fully up to what he urged of the necessity of a repeal, or something which might be nearly similar.

My memory is not a very good one for retaining the actual expression, but I have stated pretty fully what passed in this part of our conversation ; there are some other matters on this subject general of America which passed, on which we may talk over when I see you ; indeed, I wish to see you as early as you possibly can with convenience. If you ride over here, bring your night-cap, we shall be very quiet here, and have more time for conversation. Earl Verney and Mr. Sayer were with me in the drawing-room when Lord Chatham came. Lord Chatham was conveyed into my dressing-room.

Mr. Sayer had been very eager and anxious that *I* might soon see Lord Chatham, so that when he was announced, Mr. Sayer was quite happy, and Lord Verney and he went away, not doubting but that the *affairs of Great Britain and America* were in a fair way of being put into a course of healing and salutary measures. I am the more impatient to see you, as probably Lord Chatham may give some account of this conversation to Mr. Sayer, and it may get out and be known. It may therefore be necessary to be watchful ; and, if it should get out, it may then be proper that some of the Americans should know, with some precision, what did pass. Indeed, it strikes me that as the Congress, with all the heat and warmth of America, have had the prudence and the temper not to call out for and insist on *the repeal of the Declaratory Bill*, the political reasons which weighed *with them there* should surely have *more weight here*, in the judgment of the warmest actual Americans in London."

In the first speech which Lord Chatham made in the house of Lords, after the holidays, he attacked Lord Rockingham's conduct on the Declaratory Act.*

The state of Lord Chatham's health had prevented him from taking part in the Boston Port Bill; but in a speech which he delivered on the motion for quartering troops in the colonies, he condemned the conduct of the Americans in the riots at Boston, and ended his speech with something very like a threat. "Should," said he, "their turbulence exist after your proffered terms of forgiveness, which I hope and expect this House will immediately adopt, I will be amongst the foremost of your Lordships to move for such measures as will effectually prevent a future relapse, and make them feel what it is to provoke a fond and forgiving parent."

When the Parliament re-assembled after the recess, on the 20th of January, 1775, Lord Chatham proposed to move the troops from Boston. But, with characteristic jealousy, he concealed the nature of his motion from Lord Rockingham and his friends. In a letter to the Earl of Stanhope, dated the 19th of January, 1775, he tells him, in confidence, that he means to move an address for removing the forces from Boston, and adds, "Be so good as not to communicate what my intended motion is to any one whatever; but the more it is known and propagated that I am to make a motion *relative to America* the better."[*]

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* Parl. Hist., vol. xviii., p. 156.

"This day," writes Burke on the 30th of January, to a committee at Bristol, "the Earl of Chatham made a motion without concert or communication with any individual that I know of." . . . . "Lord Rockingham's friends, though not quite so properly treated, thought it best not to encourage the idea of violence to America. They adhered to the Declaratory Act; but Lord Rockingham declared against the use of troops, and said that the sending of any more would only prevent obedience, and that every town at which they were stationed would be turned into a Boston."[†] The decision was against the question, 68 to 18. "More would have been in the minority if Lord Chatham had thought proper to give notice of his motion to the proper people."

Two days prior to the meeting of Parliament, Lord Rockingham received the following letter from the Duke of Manchester:—

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

January 18, 1775.

"MY LORD,

As you did me the honour of informing me this morning of the discourse that passed lately between your Lordship and Lord Chatham, you will permit me, I hope, with freedom, to make some observations on this transaction. The proposition of his Lordship seems wild and impossible to be attained: if not founded on the vanity of delivering a singular opinion, which is to awe people by the greatness of the idea, or the uncommonness of the proposal, at least, it must appear ill-calculated for the age in which we live, or the mode of politics adopted in our Government. His Lordship was pleased to say last year, that this language would not make him popular in that country, or cause more statues to be erected to his honour: his Lordship seems now to be courting American popularity, and suing for a statue as protector of it. Whenever he makes his motion you will be, of course, called upon to defend your law.* You cannot in honour give it up, if you are not in conscience convinced that you judged wrong in making it. But, my Lord, you must pardon my freedom, it appears to me, that very much depends on the manner of defending it. In the present situation of affairs nothing can be so advantageous to Administration, nothing so ruinous to opposition, nothing so fatal to American liberty, as disunion amongst the leaders of opposition, a breach with Lord Chatham and his friends. I do not mean to overrate his abilities, or to despair of our cause, though he no longer existed, but while the man treads this earth, his name, his successes, his eloquence, the cry of the many, must exalt him into a consequence perhaps far above his station. Will you permit me, therefore, to suggest, that, on our part, it may be prudent, on this occasion, not to enter the lists with Lord Chatham, if it is possible to be avoided; to give our reasons for passing the law, to explain the principles on which it was founded, to assert that those reasons still exist, and their principles remain unaltered, seems all that it requires on our part. To enter into altercation with Lord Chatham would be to afford a triumph to opposition; to debate the matter with him would be to step forth their voluntary champions. I hope, therefore, it may be thought right for us to meddle in the matter as little as possible, and to let the debate rest entirely between his Lordship and the Ministry. I trouble you with this, that I may have your opinion fully on the subject, lest I should inadvertently, in the House, drop anything in which my friends may not entirely concur, at the same time submitting to your Lordship, whether it may not be best for all to be silent, excepting your Lordship, whose Administration must in this point be particularly questioned.

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[*] Chatham Correspondence, vol. iv., p. 371.

[†] Burke's Correspondence.

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* The Declaratory Act.

I am, my dear Lord, with sincere regard,
Your most obedient humble servant,
MANCHESTER."

Lord Chatham followed up his motion with another for settling the troubles in America. To Lord Rockingham, who had summoned his friends to town in consequence, the Duke of Richmond wrote as follows.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

GOODWOOD.
Saturday evening, January 28th, 1775.

"MY DEAR LORD,

I hope you will forgive me if I do not obey your commands of going to London to-morrow. I would certainly attend your summons if I could conceive my presence to be of the least use; but as you determined, after full consideration, that we ought not to get the start of Lord Chatham or run races with him as to motions, and as Lord Dartmouth has given notice for his motion for Thursday next, I cannot imagine that any business will come on in our House before Thursday; indeed, as Lord Dartmouth has given notice for that day, I don't think it would be quite decent to propose anything on that subject now, till the King's servants have opened their plan. If you had started before Lord Dartmouth had given notice, or, when he gave notice, if you had said you would not wait so long, the case would have been different, but now I think it too late. I therefore conclude that I cannot be of any use *in* the House till then. And as to my opinions in *consultations* you know already so entirely my thoughts, that I am sure my being present would serve only for repetition; and as to getting various persons to give way and agree to one opinion, that is your *forte*, and very far from mine. The only new thought I have on the subject is, that you might send to Lord Chatham a message or note to desire to know whether he chooses to meet and consult on what may be proper to be done on Thursday. This is a mere idea, very crude, which you will dispose of as you please; perhaps he might accept of the offer, and take the lead, and be very troublesome. As we attend Lord Dartmouth's motion; I conclude we shall have only to hear, and object. . . . .

RICHMOND."

Of the details of the motion which Lord Chatham had brought forward on the 1st of February, he made no other intimation to Lord Rockingham than what is contained in the following letter, written the evening before the debate.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

HAYES.
Tuesday evening, January 31*st*, 1775.

"MY DEAR LORD,

Being on the eve of the doom to be pronounced against America, there is not a moment to lose for whoever has anything to propose for preventing a civil war going in a few days to be inevitably fixed. I am again against my intention compelled to offer to-morrow in the House, if gout allows me to come, my poor thoughts for this great end. I lament the necessity which precludes the opportunity of collecting more particularly the lights and purposes of your Lordship in this weighty matter; allow me only to assure your Lordship that want of unfeigned respect for your Lordship has no share in this seemingly precipitate step."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

(*January* 31*st*, 1775.)

"I HAVE had the honour to receive your Lordship's polite letter. I shall certainly be at the House of Lords to-morrow, and shall form the best (judgment) I I can on what your Lordship may then propose. The matter is important, and any plan requires a very serious consideration."

To his own immediate friends Lord Rockingham wrote as follows :—

"MY LORD, (*January* 31*st*, 1775.)

I imagine your Lordship will have received to-night a letter from Lord Chatham. His Lordship has done me the honour to inform me of his intentions of being at the House of Lords to-morrow, and of then proposing his plan. What the plan is your Lordship may perhaps be apprised. I have very little guess at present, but when I hear it, I shall give it as full consideration as the time will allow, and shall very fairly be for it or against it, just as may appear best to my own judgment, which, allow me to say, is the only guide I dare trust in so important (a matter)."

In the debate in the Lords upon the disturbances in North America, on Tuesday, the 7th of February, Lord Rockingham divided the House on the previous question.

THE HON. WILLIAM PITT TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

HAYES.
Sunday night, February 5th, 1775.

"MY LORD,

I am commissioned by my father to acknowledge the honour of your Lordship's very obliging letter, he being in bed and disabled from writing, with the gout. He charges me to add, that he will not fail to attend in the House of Peers, at least on Wednesday next,* when the Address is to be debated, if he shall by that time be in a condition to be lifted into the House. He is extremely concerned to understand that your Lordship's health, for two or three days, has not been so well as every lover of his country must wish it to be.

I have the honour to be, with perfect respect,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient and most
Humble servant,
WILLIAM PITT."

"Lord Chatham had the honour of a letter from the Duke of Richmond yesterday, which he answered."

Besides Lord Chatham's proposition for settling the troubles in America, several other plans of conciliation were brought before Parliament. The best devised was that comprised in Burke's celebrated "Resolutions," which he moved on the 22nd of March this year.

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* This debate took place on *Tuesday*, the 7th of February.

No expression of Lord Chatham has been more frequently quoted than that "this country had no right under Heaven to tax America."* Yet it would appear from the following letter that the noble orator had some misgivings of the principles which he had just laid down.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO SIR GEORGE SAVILE.

GROSVENOR SQUARE, *March 7th*, 1775.

"DEAR SIR GEORGE,

I am indeed so anxious that you should be present here, this evening, that notwithstanding your note, I cannot help expressing to you how much I wish it. I saw Lord Camden in the House of Commons last night, Mr. Hartley was sitting by him, and we had a very short conversation on the subject-matter. Lord Camden *suggested an objection*, which was merely this, that *the Resolutions proposed by Mr. Burke did not go to raise that expectation in the public that a large revenue might be got from America, which Lord Chatham's plan held out.*

Lord Camden did not object on any *other ground*, on the contrary *said*, that he could support the resolution as proposed. Lord Camden's doubts therefore, are neither more nor less, than a hesitation in taking any step wherein he thinks there is a probability or even possibility of Lord Chatham's not fully coinciding.

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* See Lord Chatham's speech on the Bill for the quartering and regulating the troops in the Colonies.

Mr. Hartley, to whom Mr. Burke's proposition for the resolutions was conveyed by me in order to show to Lord Camden, and who has had a meeting with his Lordship upon them, and therefore has had a much fuller conversation than I had, I find by your letter is not well, and does not intend to be here to-night. The question to-night in a great measure consists whether their resolutions *should be proposed*, from what passed when you was here, when Mr. Burke first opened them, you seemed to approve them. It is indeed of much importance in discussing the propriety of moving them, that your opinion should be known, and that cannot be without your presence. I understand by your servant, that you had some business with the judges, who are going the circuit, and that you were to set out for Ware to-night: would it not be possible for you to come here at eight o'clock, and stay and decide this matter, and by setting out to-morrow you might easily overtake the judges.

. . . . I expect Barré and Dunning, and about fourteen or fifteen. Your absence will indeed be a most unfortunate and untoward event, for had I known in time that you could not have been present, I would have avoided calling the general meeting; but as I mentioned in the House of Commons to Mr. Hartley last night, and heard nothing to the contrary from him, I sent out the cards this morning.

Ever, dear Sir George,

Your most obedient and affectionate servant,

ROCKINGHAM.'

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

GOODWOOD, *March* 12*th*, 1775.

"As to Burke's resolutions I have not seen them; but from what I hear from Lord John, I like them, and so far from fearing to lose English popularity, or to appear to run a race with Lord Chatham for American popularity, I would be very explicit in disclaiming any wish for a revenue, as an unwise measure, not only from the difficulty in obtaining it, but as not founded in sound policy, or indeed in justice."

A month after Burke's Pacification Resolutions had been rejected, the British and American armies met for the first time in hostile collision, on the plains of Lexington.

More than a century and a half had elapsed since Englishmen had met Englishmen in a war embrace. In both places, at Edgehill and at Lexington, the aggressions of prerogative were the original cause of feud. In both cases a great experiment was put to the issue, whether individual or national will should prevail. In both a controversy, which, a few months earlier, reason and moderation would have adjusted, was determined by the fierce tribunal of war, and in both cases jealousy and the memory of wrong done, cut the ties and marred the features of natural brotherhood.

Hostilities opened inauspiciously for the mother country: her veterans retired before the raw Provincial levies. "The troops," writes Franklin to Burke, with almost savage glee, "made a most vigorous retreat—twenty miles in three hours—scarce to be paralleled in history: the feeble Americans, who pelted them all the way, could scarce keep up with them."

Between the author of this sarcastic bulletin and the person whom he addressed, there existed an intimacy which suffered no interruption from the disagreement of their respective countries. Nor did Burke correspond only with Franklin, he frequently quoted his letters in the House of Commons. In his implied sympathy with the insurgent colonists he was not alone. The party to which he belonged took every opportunity of identifying itself with the American cause. On the occasion of the Address in 1766, which pledged both Houses to stand by his Majesty "at the hazard of their lives and properties," Lord Rockingham declared in the Lords, that he would "hazard neither life nor fortune in such a cause," and when, in the same year, Admiral Keppel was offered a command, he said that "although professional employment was the dearest object of his life," he would not accept it "in the line of America." In a like spirit the Earl of Effingham, on learning that his regiment was destined for America, and feeling that he could not support as a soldier a measure which he had so strongly condemned as a legislator, threw up his commission.*

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* In a letter he addressed to the Secretary-at-War, on the 12th of April of this year, he says, "I cannot without reproach from my own conscience consent to bear arms against my fellow-subjects in America, in what, to my discernment, is not a clear cause."

It is a significant feature of the state of parties and of the temper of Government at this crisis, that the most staunch adherents of the House of Hanover should thus have become identified in feeling with the opponents of the royal authority. But the Crown had changed, the Whigs had retained their principles. It was not merely their sympathy with an oppressed people that prompted the adhesion of this party to the American cause, but a deep and well-grounded conviction that if despotism were once established in America, arbitrary government would at least be attempted in the mother country. Of the sentiments with which the Whigs of this period regarded the great colonial struggle, two memorials have come down to us—the uniform of the Fox Club, and the cover of the Edinburgh Review, "buff and blue," the insignia of so many patriots, and the subject of so much periodical discussion, became, during the war with the colonies, the badge of the entire Whig party, and were adopted by it as the distinguishing colours of the American army.

Wars at their commencement have generally been popular with the good people of England. That with America formed no exception to the general rule. The counties sent forth what were called their "life and property" addresses. The great body of the people were pleased at the prospect of transferring a portion of their burdens on to other shoulders. The country gentlemen were deluded by the ministerial assurance that American taxation would relieve them of a part of the land-tax. "The merchants," writes Burke, "begin to snuff the cadaverous *haut gout* of lucrative war; the freighting business never was so lively, on account of the prodigious taking up, for transport service; great orders for provisions of all kinds, new clothing for the troops, puts life into the woollen manufactures."

Hence it was that many politicians, whose principles had withstood the blandishments of the Court, were not proof against the disfavour of the people, and hastened to give support to the coercive policy of the Government.

The following letter, written by an anonymous correspondent to a general officer in England, is amongst Lord Rockingham's papers. It is impossible at this time to discover either the name of the writer or of the person to whom it is addressed.

The writer describes in the language of exultation, the elements against which the mother country, by the culpable subserviency of the Ministry to an intractable sovereign, had been called upon to contend. It was here that the wise system of self-government which had been adopted by the early settlers in America began to show its effects in the organisation of the different provinces. The heavy loss which the British sustained at this time gave them a lesson, hereafter to be more emphatically inculcated, that the Americans were not the "cowards" they were accused of being by a contemporary member of the House of Lords.

ANONYMOUS.

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 11*th*, 1775.

"DEAR GENERAL,

I had the pleasure to write to you about six weeks ago from Virginia, and gave you as accurate a description of public affairs as my situation and the times afforded: since then great and very extraordinary events have come to pass; the defeat of General Gage's troops the 19th of April, the general union of the colonies directly succeeding that defeat, and the success of the Provincial troops in several smart skirmishes lately, has roused such a spirit for arms and opposition to ministerial tyranny, that there are now considerably more than one hundred thousand men in daily training, between Nova Scotia and Georgia, exclusive of twenty thousand Bostonians now actually forming the blockade of Boston. Since the 19th of April, General Gage has not presumed to make any excursion from his garrison. The 5th inst. the New England general thinking Mr. Gage might be too comfortable if a number of sheep, cattle, hay, &c., were suffered to remain on Naddal's Island, about a mile from Boston, detached a few men to drive off the cattle and destroy the hay; this party, meeting with some opposition from the gross guard of Regulars, three hundred men and four pieces of cannon more were sent from the Provincial camp, to support their first detachment; these were opposed by an armed sloop and schooner for the Admiral with a detachment of three hundred marines in boats. Hereupon the affair became warm, but the superior valour of the sons of freedom prevailed; the troops were drove to their boats, the schooner burnt, and the sloop with much difficulty towed off; this happened a few days after the arrival of the Generals Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton. To the second of these worthy Englishmen this must be a most unpleasant *Fête Champêtre,* to be shut up in Boston with nothing to vary the entertainment but the beef and pork of Ireland, and what the Royal Magazine affords. I confess I don't pity Englishmen, who by undertaking so inhuman an office have reduced themselves to such miserable circumstances. Had Lord Bute no desperadoes of the North to employ in this most diabolical errand, or does he want them all at home to finish the destruction of England? I never was pleased at your being deprived of your regiment until I heard it was ordered to Boston; I thought that the wise dispensation of Providence so ordered it to prevent your being selected by Lord Bute to cut the throats of your countrymen. How must Howe feel when he reflects that the people he is sent to destroy, are the people who generously erected a noble monument to his brother in honour of his glorious fall. Can it be possible that these men will act with the same spirit that animated them, when employed against the hereditary and constant enemies of their country? Englishmen are still Englishmen, the ferrying them over the Atlantic does not alter their nature—this the ocean, as it has more freedom, may inspire them with more courage, and if Lord Sandwich with every Lord of the majority were to assert that cowardice was natural to the Americans, no man of sound sense or reflection will believe it. Thus much his Lordship's bold assertion, has had an effect very different from what he intended, for it has put every soul upon exerting their utmost to prove him a false reasoner. The grand Continental Congress have been sitting here ever since the 10th of May; it is imagined they will forthwith establish an army, raise money, and take every human means for the defence of this country; whatever is their determination, the whole continent will obey it, with the utmost resolution and perseverance. I suppose no prince or potentate upon earth, would this day meet with that implicit obedience that the Congress will be served with. I know of no country ancient or modern, where the first estate was so wisely chosen: after every county has chosen a committee for that county—that committee chooses the delegates for the Provincial committee, and the Provincial committee chooses delegates for the General Congress. Of course this General Congress must be composed of men who have the general good opinion of the whole country, a system you must allow, infinitely superior to any in Europe. Should it please Almighty God to prosper this system, there will be no doubt but America will be the freest and happiest country under the sun—we have no debt, we have a happy climate, and every production necessary for all the blessings of this life, and these supplied in such abundance, that the more we increase in people, the greater will be our increase of every earthly benefit. Three days ago Colonel Philip Skeene, and two more officers arrived here from Ireland, they were immediately taken into custody, and their papers seized and sent to the Congress; the Colonel is said to be charged with a particular commission from Lord Dartmouth. Colonel Skeene's government of Ticonderoga and Crown Point was about a fortnight before arrival seized by the Connecticut troops, who also took all the armed vessels and boats upon Lake Champlain; so General Carleton, if he is ever so willing, will find it very difficult to assist Mr. Gage; upon that side six thousand men are employed to guard New York, and the passes between that province and Canada. It does not appear that the Canadians have the smallest desire to interfere; in this contest the yeomanry and common people detest the new form of government, and are more likely to league for than against us.

I am sorry these disturbances prevents my correspondence with J. Boone; I know what I wish to write to him would be improper perhaps for me to write, or him to receive, as an officer high in office. I believe him a man of honour, a friend of mankind, and I know he has a very good American estate; all these are cogent reasons to sway him to America; but his connections are with the enemies of this country, and Mr. Rigby is the most violent of men against us. I hear Lord Chatham has been preserved once more to save his country—place him and Lord Camden where they ought to be, and all may yet be well; less temporising measures will not do, and as to force of arms, there is no more prospect of success that way than there is of the present Ministry obtaining a majority without corruption. This goes by a safe and sure conveyance. Mr. Richard Penn undertakes to deliver it to you, or send it immediately to you on his arrival in England. My compliments wait on your fire-side and all friends in your delightful neighbourhood. —General Lee, Washington, and a number of officers who served last war are now here.

I am ever affectionately yours."

The two following letters strongly express the despondency with which the Whigs viewed their abortive attempt to save the country from the evils into which it was fast becoming involved by its own folly.

SIR GEORGE SAVILE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

RUFFORD, *October* 18*th*, 1775.

"MY LORD,

If I could frame to myself any distinct idea, or rather any idea at all, that any end was to be answered by my being in London before the day of the meeting of Parliament, I should not hesitate to put by every consideration of pleasure, rest, or health. Now, by *answering some end*, I do not mean having a chance of carrying some question in Parliament: Lord knows, that is far enough out of the question; on the contrary, I conceive a larger majority rather than a less than has hitherto divided, will appear on every American question. But if anything should be in prospect to soften and lower the proceedings within doors, or to protest against them with any effort, or in any shape, that evils might be but *alleviated* or *delayed*, or a change of measures be only hastened one hour by anything we can do, I would come, on the supposition that my additional appearance would contribute one-hundredth, or one-thousandth part even to that imperfect good. But, on the contrary, I rather incline to believe that all our stirring will do but mischief, and even delay the events which (if they are the right ones) will in the present circumstances of things, I verily believe, come about sooner without, than with our help.

Nothing is wanting to justify ourselves; our opinions are well known, and our testimony is borne. Or at least, a short word spoken with gravity early in the Sessions, would best confirm that sentiment in the public, if it wanted that confirmation. Thus I get rid of one great consideration (a very justifiable one I allow,) of what is due to ourselves and our characters with the public; and with regard to any real effect, present or future, virtual or actual, I am sure it is nothing good, and I am almost as sure it is only mischief. It is what I would do if I wanted to egg an hot-tempered man still to do more and more violently, and furnish him an excuse for it when he had so done. I should feel it so if I was a minister or a ——. The proclamation almost decides me, if anything would, to strip and jump upon the table, and challenge all the drunken company, and cut myself with knives like the prophets of Belial.

Judging the same of others who, at least, boast the virtue of obstinacy equally with myself, I regret I am sure we tend, by all we can do, only to make the driving more furious. It is a child pulling against a runaway horse; let him alone and he will stop the sooner; I know I feel a lurking temptation to increase their damnation in proportion to the warnings they have had, and lay in a claim for the *didn't I tell you so?*—but I reject this as an unworthy wish. The situation of men who prophesy bad, is always odious, for no man will believe they don't wish their words may prove true. I have no time here to enter into the question how far wishing them *bad success* in this case is an odious wish, but on the face of it, it is wishing *calamity*, and at best, it is (in the phrase I have used to Mr. H(artley), too transatlantic an idea to ground one's actions upon.

Now if it be true that there is a wavering, would it not be mad to break down the bridge. For a moment, suppose yourself a man of six or seven-and-thirty inclined rather one way. A party among your friends wavering towards the other side; would it help or obstruct the effect of their arguments with you for yielding, if strong and, (as their opponents would call them) indecent clamours or threats were used by the favourers of lenient measures out of doors? If you will tell me they would be powerful enough to work their purpose, *however against the grain*, it would be something, yet not an agreeable way of doing it; but I am sure you don't think it would do this, and there is no medium.

If it does not *effect the change*, it will *increase the violence*. Pique is one of the strongest motives in the human mind. Fear is strong, but transient. Interest is more lasting, perhaps, and steady, but infinitely weaker; I will ever back pique against them both. It is the spur the Devil rides the noblest tempers with, and will do more work with them in a week, than with other poor jades in a twelvemonth.

I beg your pardon for the ramblings which I mean as illustrations, not absolutely as arguments; I mean to convey only, that it is my first opinion that no meetings to *excite* to *protest*, nay even to *resolve* to do or to say nothing (which is yet the best of the three), can tend to any good purpose. For such a *public* EXPRESS *resolution* to be sulky, is very different from the simple negative way of lamenting in silence, and would only be made necessary by the consideration of one's character with the public before mentioned and answered.

Instead, therefore, of my personal appearance at a meeting which I am sure can resolve no better than to mourn in public silence, I beg to put into your Lordship's hands my proxy and opinion, formed more coolly, and perhaps, therefore, better than I could have formed it in a less retired situation. I do intreat and implore for a melancholy silence; I beg we may not be accused of causing the want of success which we think we foresee. Twenty thousand men must be sent to America; but if we furnish a pretence by laying ourselves open to the accusation of inciting them, forty thousand must be sent, and *will* be sent. If there be an advocate for extreme violence beyond even his best hopes, I am sure it were worth his while to bribe us to make a bustle. I have expressed it but imperfectly, but I cannot help resting very much on the argument I have used at the top of p. 4.

All this is supposing (as, indeed, every man must if he argues at all) that we are in the right, I mean as to the issue of things; but I am sure I speak very ignorantly of many things very necessary to be known.

What do I know of the *people*, their country, their dispositions, their resources? Didn't a sick horse once pay forfeit to a dead horse? And, although I rather grow stronger daily in my conviction of the improbability of our subduing that country, yet, I protest, were I put to it for my life, I don't know whether the best argument I have now for believing the Ministry in the wrong (I mean as to the success) is, that they have never, I think, been in the right yet; and after all, why am I *without cause* to commit myself in prophecies on that ground?

If we should kill and eat the Americans, I shall be laughed at; and if they baffle all the power of Britain, I shall enjoy no triumph. What then is to be got? I need not repeat, that it can have no public effect, therefore, I say *without a cause.*

I have in a rambling, and I fear in a very imperfect way, endeavoured to give your Lordship my notions on this matter, begging that you will not show this letter;

but that if any body has the curiosity to inquire about me, you will be so good as to express my sentiments for me, as you can collect them from this; not that I insist on its not being shown to the few whose praise, though I esteem it, I do not value so much as their correction. And this I leave to you as one able to guess whose correction my proud spirit will submit to.

I will detain your Lordship no longer. I would but repeat that, I think submitting now to remain in the shade (under a cloud if you will), is the patient and sure way to deserve true praise and to get it too.

G. SAVILE."

In September of this year, the American Congress presented a petition to the King, invoking the magnanimity of his Majesty, and assuring him of their ardent desire to restore harmony between the mother country and her colonies. On the 10th of November the Duke of Richmond moved in the House of Lords that the petitition of the American Congress to the King afforded *ground* of conciliation. It is with regard to the wording of the proposed motion that the two letters which follow have reference.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF CAMDEN.

November 3rd, 1772.

"I HEARTILY wish that we may coincide in every measure which it may be expedient to take at this very important time. I am the last man who ever will wish others to depart from their principles, because I confess I am very tenacious of my own; but, if I am not much mistaken in point of judgment, it is not on a point of principle on which a difference of opinion may arise, but merely on a *mode* of obtaining and receiving what would probably tend to a perfect and lasting conciliation between the colonies and this country."

THE EARL OF CAMDEN TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

CAMDEN, *November 4th*, 1775.

"MY LORD,

I have the honour of your Lordship's letter containing the Duke of Grafton's amendments, which I really think are amendments. The first as removing an objection, that we had recognised by the motion the authority of the Congress, by adopting the whole of the petition. The second, from the propriety of the expression; it being rather better in the perusing to say, the petition *affords a ground*, than that *it is a ground*, and yet, to say the truth, the error is the same, and I should have been satisfied with either. Your Lordship might very fairly have trutsed me upon both these amendments without the trouble of an extraordinary communication, though, at the same time, I am obliged to your Lordship for this mark of your attention.

Your Lordship may be assured of my concurrence in all measures that may tend to restore union between the two countries, and will never embarrass business by trifling objections, or by expecting any extraordinary attention. These motions of ours will direct the newspapers, but I fear will do no great service, yet they are fit to be made. Three to one in our House, and two to one in the other, can be resisted by nothing but the voice, nay, indeed, the clamour of the public.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Your Lordship's
Most obedient faithful servant,
CAMDEN."

Before any motion had been made on the King's speech, Lord Camden adopted the unusual course of presenting a petition from the Lord Mayor and Common Council of London, expressive of their alarm at the late proceedings in America, which could not but be productive of additional taxes, and occasion the loss of a most valuable branch of commerce. This was in consequence of a Bill brought in by the Government prohibiting all trade or intercourse with the colonies. The Bill was read a second time in the House of Lords on the 15th of December, and, notwithstanding professed indifference in the following letter, was vehemently opposed by the writer.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

GOODWOOD.
Monday morning, December 11th, 1775.

"MY DEAR LORD,

I confess that I feel very languid about this American business. The merchants and others stirring upon a particular Bill only when it pinches them, will do no good. They must be made to see that the measures, on the whole, are good or bad; if good, a particular measure is scarce worth opposing; but if, upon the whole, they are ruinous, the whole system must be opposed. Will they come forth and give general opposition to men they feel are ruining them and the country? till they will, no good can be done. I see none in making, now and then, an effort, sometimes more, sometimes less strong, for men who, three times out of four, support that very Government which oppresses them. The only thing that can restore common sense to this country, is feeling the dreadful consequences which must soon follow such diabolical measures.

I much approve of your Lordship's opposing the land-tax and Militia Bill, nor have I the least objection to your opposing this Prohibition Bill, but I would not make a great struggle for it; and you may tell the merchants that you cannot get an attendance of the Lords unless they will take a more decided part, and firmly stand by them in their general system of politics.

I am ever your most affectionate,
And faithful humble servant,
RICHMOND."

CHAPTER XI.

CHARLES FOX JOINS THE WHIGS.—A VISIT TO ST. ANNE'S HILL. —LETTER FROM THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE OF WALES.—DR. FRANKLIN.—LETTERS OF THE DUKES OF PORTLAND AND RICHMOND.—THE EARL OF ABINGDON.—LETTERS OF EDMUND BURKE.—THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

Amidst the general defection in the Whig ranks one illustrious champion of the Tories quitted the camp for ever, and devoted the remainder of his life to the promotion of the peace, the welfare, and the happiness of mankind. This was Charles James Fox. Mr. Trotter, in his Memoirs of that statesman, says: "Lord Albemarle was sincerely beloved by Mr. Fox—Lady Albemarle, whose sincerity and *naïveté* were very pleasing, who was the lovely mother of some fine children, there with her also, contributed to make St. Anne's Hill still more agreeable." Disclaiming the complimentary epithet of the biographer, I may be permitted to mention that the children here spoken of were my brother Edward * and myself. The period of our visit was the spring of 1806; not long before that attack of illness which a few months later consigned the great statesman to the tomb; although in excellent health at the time we were at St. Anne's Hill, Mr. Fox was even then unable to walk, and was always wheeled about in a chair; indeed, I never saw him except in a sitting posture. The dark black hair of the eyebrows, cheeks, and head, which in the early caricatures obtained for him the designation of "Niger," * had given place to a silver white. His dress was a light grey single-breasted coat, with large white metal buttons, a thick woollen waistcoat, drab kerseymere breeches, dark worsted stockings, and shoes coming up to the ancles. His first appearance in a morning was at the children's one o'clock dinner, and that meal was no sooner dispatched than the Prime Minister and his youthful guests would adjourn to the lawn before the house, and devote the remainder of the evening to trap-ball, Mr. Fox having always the innings, and we boys the bowling and fagging out. My father has often mentioned to his children the boyish eagerness and delight with which Fox used to enter into the game.

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* Hon. and Rev. Edward Keppell, Rector of Quidenham, Deputy Clerk of the Closet to the Queen.

The next letter is not from a contemporary of Lord Rockingham, but here inserted as containing a character of Mr. Fox by a Princess, whose opinions, if her life had been spared, would have exercised an important influence over the destinies of this country. The letter is in answer to my father's acknowledgment of a bust of Fox † which her Royal Highness had given him.

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* See Wright's House, of Hanover, for a caricature of Fox with the words "Hic Niger est."

† The bust here spoken of is in the library of Quidenham, my country residence in Norfolk.

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE OF WALES TO THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE.

WARWICK HOUSE, *January* 17*th*, 1812.

"MY DEAR LORD ALBEMARLE,

I have been very much vexed at not being able to answer your letter immediately, which my wishes would have led me to do, but I delay no longer taking up my pen, and expressing the emotions of satisfaction and pleasure I received on reading it. I cannot say how happy I feel that the bust has given you so much satisfaction. As knowing your affection towards Mr. *Fox* (both in public and private), it struck me you would like to have it, and I was therefore particularly anxious for its success.

I *lament*, I sincerely lament, not having had the happiness of a personal acquaintance with him, but that does not deprive me of those feelings and sentiments of *veneration, admiration, and respect* which I shall ever entertain for his public and private virtues.

Nor shall I ever stand in need of being reminded of his name nor great deeds, while there are such *able men*, though few in number (comparatively speaking), who make it their study, as well as their pride, to follow as closely as possible the precepts of their *late great leader*. Which to admire most I am at a loss to know, for turn to either side one beholds so much that calls forth *unqualified* praise, that it would be a difficult task imposed. He has been one of *those few*, those very few, who have really had the good of their country at heart, and in *view*, not in words merely, but who, both in *thought* and deed, acted for that *alone;* one who by his uncorrupted integrity, proved what a *patriot* and a *statesman* was, and who *united* these two *different* characters (which ought *never* to have been divided). Of all his numerous deeds none are so much to be cherished as his abolition of that cruel and most disgraceful procedure (particularly to this country, which is called a free one), the *slave trade*, and his laudable exertions for *universal toleration*, and comfort to our unfortunate and grossly-abused sister kingdom, which alas! was not crowned with success; and this is the man who, after devoting his time, health, and at length life, is called a *revolutionist;* one who subverts (at least tries to subvert) the laws and liberties of this country. Who would, who could, and who can believe this? None who have their eyes open, and have an unprejudiced judgment, but the short-sighted and jaundiced eye of the people. Many there are who say they understand the word *toleration*. I will grant they do, but not in deed. There are even some dignitaries in the Church who pique themselves upon their learning, but do not seem, no more than the *temporal peers*, to comprehend its meaning, or else they who are to preach meekness and charity would certainly not, *I should conceive, seem* to *rejoice* so at the sufferings of Ireland, nor utter such *virulent protests* against their *just claims*. In fine, the word *bishopric* includes *everything:* that is, the touchstone of action, the spring from whence all *that holy* fire issues; *that* God that they teach (or at least feign to do, who enjoins charitableness and forgiveness) is wholly forgotten in their rancorous hatred towards an oppressed and unfortunate people, *whose crime* is, following other ceremonies, not owning *these dignitaries*, but *above all* having the name of Irishman. It is with honest pride, the pride of a true-born English person, that I avow these sentiments, principles that I am *convinced* are the *only* true foundation of this country, and the spirit of the Constitution; nor shall I be ashamed to broach them before the whole world, should I ever be called upon.

Thank God there are some young of both sexes, some that I have the happiness to *know personally*, as well as from report, that feel *firm* at *this state* of things, and that are from their *hearts* and minds *followers* and *admirers* of your late inestimable friend. Happy, thrice happy, will the moment be when the plans Mr. Fox pursued and planned are put into *full force;* then indeed, will England have cause to rejoice, she may lift up her head in conscious superiority and proud pre-eminence.

But I must plead my excuses for having detained you so long.

Believe me, with the greatest esteem,
My dear Lord Albemarle,
Your most sincere,
CHARLOTTE."

Fox took his seat for Midhurst in 1768, being then scarcely twenty years of age. He soon distinguished himself for his hearty, though somewhat insubordinate, zeal for the Tory questions then in vogue. Thus he was vehement in favour of Luttrell's admission into parliament, and as decidedly opposed to the Nullum Tempus Bill. The first evidence of his conversion was his joining the Whigs in their opposition to the Boston Port Bill, in 1774. It was probably immediately prior to this public manifestation of a change in his opinion, that was written the following postscript to an undated letter from his aunt, the Duchess of Richmond, to the Marquis of Rockingham:—

"Charles Fox did us the *honour* to sup with us last night, a thing which he has not done for years, and the favour was the greater as he came unasked. He looked very foolish, and was violent gracious, or rather *toad-eating*. The Duke of Richmond had no conversation with him."

From Burke's published letters it appears that Fox was in correspondence with Lord Rockingham in 1774. The earliest letter which I can find amongst that nobleman's papers is the following. The "terrible news," refers to the intelligence that had just been received of the King's troops having effected a landing at Long Island, and gained a complete victory over the Americans, near the village of Brooklyn.

HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"MY DEAR LORD, NEWMARKET, *October 13th*, 1776.

Though I am far from being dismayed by the terrible news from Long Island, I cannot help thinking that it ought, with what will naturally follow it, to have a considerable influence upon our counsels, and that we ought, under the present circumstances, to pursue a conduct somewhat different from that which was projected at Wentworth. A secession at present would be considered as a running away from the conquerors, and we should be thought to give up a cause which we think no longer tenable. But the more I am convinced that a secession is become improper, the clearer I am that it is become still more necessary than ever to produce some manifesto, petition, or public instrument upon the present situation of affairs; either to exhort his Majesty to make the only proper use of his victory, by seizing this opportunity of making advantageous offers of accommodation, or to express openly and fairly to him the well-grounded apprehensions every man must entertain from the power of the Crown in case his Majesty should be able to subdue the American Continent by the force of his arms. Above all, my dear Lord, I hope that it will be a point of honour among us all to support the American pretensions in adversity as much as we did in their prosperity, and that we shall never desert those who have acted *unsuccessfully* upon Whig principles, while we continue to profess our admiration of those who succeeded in the same principles in the year 1688.

Whatever is intended, I am sure it is not necessary for me to press upon your Lordship the expediency of your using every means possible to have a great attendance on the 31st, in order to which, no time must be lost in making application to the members, through the properest channels. If your Lordship should think it worth while to write a line in answer to this, I should be glad to know when you will be in town, as likewise whether there is anything in which I can be serviceable. Believe me, my dear Lord, the expectation of your Lordship and all your friends, must in a great measure depend upon the part you act at this critical juncture. I am sure you are a person whom one need not advise to take a *firm* one; but I am so clear that firmness in Whig principles is at present become so much more necessary than ever, that I cannot help conjuring you, over and over again, to consider the importance of the crisis. In regard to myself, I dare hope that professions are unnecessary, and I will therefore trouble your Lordship no further than to assure you that I am resolved in the present situation of affairs to adhere still more, if possible, than I have done to those principles of government which we have always recommended with respect to America, and to maintain that if America should be at our feet (which God forbid!), we ought to give them as good terms (at least) as those offered in Burke's propositions.

I am, my dear Lord,
Yours, &c.,
C. J. FOX."

"P.S. I shall be here, or near it, till I hear from you."

Soon after the breaking out of the discontents in America, Benjamin Franklin was appointed agent for Massachusetts. While acting in this capacity he became possessed of letters from the Governor, and Chief Justice of the province,, recommending the adoption of coercive measures. These letters Dr. Franklin forwarded to his constituents, who founded thereupon, a petition to the King, praying for the dismissal of the two functionaries. The petition was brought before the Privy Council in January, 1774. It was on this occasion that Wedderburn, as counsel for the Governor, uttered his famous diatribe against Franklin, in which he called him, "*homo trium literarum*:" that is, *fur*, a "thief;" compared him to Zanga, in Young's tragedy of "Revenge," and asked—whether "the revengeful temper attributed by poetic fiction, to the bloody minded African, was not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily New-Englander.?"

Allusion has been already made to a resolution of the Americans, to discontinue the use of all goods from Great Britain. The following letter bears upon the subject.*

DR. FRANKLIN TO GOVERNOR FRANKLIN.†

LONDON, *June 30th*, 1774.

"I HEAR a non-importation agreement is intended. If it is general, and the Americans agree in it, the present Ministry will certainly be knocked up, and their Act repealed; otherwise they and their measures will be continued, and the Stamp Act revived.

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* From the original, in the possession of the Earl of Leicester.

† William Franklin, son of the great American philosopher, served at Ticonderoga, as a captain in the former American war. He accompanied his father to England soon after the Peace of Fontainbleau. His appointment as Governor of New Jersey was obtained through

The Scotch in resentment of the Parliament's refusing to lay an additional duty on foreign linen, or to give a bonus upon theirs, are entering into like agreements with regard to cloth and hats from England, and are setting up large manufactures of both, which will be an additional distress to manufacturers here.

I should be sorry if Ireland is included in your agreement, because that country is much our friend, and the want of flax-seed may distress them exceedingly, but your merchants can best judge. It can only be meant against England, to ensure a change of measures, and not to hurt Ireland, with whom we have no quarrel.

The Bill for laying duties on spirits and liquors imported into Quebec appoints three-pence a gallon in what is from Britain, six-pence on what comes from the West Indies, and twelve-pence on all from any part of North America, or any *foreign country*; so that after all our expense in helping to conquer Canada for this Crown, we are put on the footing of foreigners, in our trade with it. Will this, in a future war, encourage us to assist in more conquests?"

Franklin remained in England upwards of a year

the interest of Lord Bute. His politics were diametrically opposed to those of his father, and he continued in office till the Americans sent him to Connecticut in 1776. On his release, he was indemnified for his losses from the English Government by a pension, and died in England on the 17th of November, 1813.

after Wedderburn's attack upon him. At length receiving private information that it was the intention of the Government to arrest him, he embarked in March, 1775, for America, was appointed by Congress, Commissioner Plenipotentiary to the Court of France, for the purpose of obtaining aid in money and military stores, as the only means of resisting the power of England. Although in his seventy-first year, he at once accepted this mission. On the 27th of October, 1776, he embarked on board the Reprisal, a United States sloop of war, mounting sixteen guns, which though frequently chased by British cruisers landed him safely on the French coast on the evening of the 3rd of December. Early intelligence of his arrival was transmitted to Lord Rockingham. I have been unable to find the letter containing the information, but the following is his Lordship's reply.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO ———

WENTWORTH.
Thursday night, December (1776.)

"I THANK you exceedingly for the communication of the most important event.—The caution you desire me to take, I certainly shall not omit.

I have long learned in politics, that the *channels* of important communications are sacred, and particularly so in regard to persons, where from some little ill-humour or prejudice, the intelligence of sentiments of *one* are but to be communicated to *another*.

In regard to this event, I cannot refrain from paying my tribute of admiration to the vigour, magnanimity, and determined resolution of the *Old Man*. The horrid scene at a *Privy Council*, is in my memory, though, perhaps not in his. It may not excite his conduct. It certainly deters him not.—He boldly ventures to cross the Atlantic in an American little frigate, and risks the dangers of being taken, and being once more brought before an implacable tribunal. The sight of Banquo's ghost could not more offend the eyes of Macbeth, than the knowledge of this old man being at Versailles, should affect the minds of those who were principals in that horrid scene.

Depend upon it he will plead forcibly. He has but to combat a degree of folly in a very few in France. He is so armed with proofs of the *facility* with which France and Spain may now give a deadly blow to this country, that I can no longer enjoy the chief comfort I had in the reliance, that though the political conduct of this country was weak or infatuated beyond all bounds—yet the Courts of France and Spain were still more weak and blind.

I am very curious to know what reception your information will meet from the Ministers. Inwardly they will tremble at it. They may appear to think slightly of the effects it will have. They will cherish a fond hope that France will not listen. In the mean time they will try to raise more and more indignation *here* against the Americans for this strong effort of application to France.

This I am confident you will see. It cannot be otherwise. There is no man who has access to his Majesty who has integrity and magnanimity of mind sufficient to enable him to go and say to his Majesty, the measures and policy of the Ministers towards America are erroneous; the adherence to them is destruction. What can now be done to avert impending ruin, must be a matter of great difficulty, and even uncertainty, in regard to its execution; *of this*, at least, we are certain, that *force, violence*, and cruelty have brought the country into this direful situation. The reverse of such measures is the *only thing* left to try.

Who will and *who can* try their effect? I shall not trouble you with more speculations. In regard to what you mentioned in one letter of something like a political intrigue which you saw, I have long looked and felt with great indifference on all that sort of matter. I pursue, and shall pursue, steadily and invariably, the line of conduct which I have long held. I cannot vary from opinions and principles which afford me the pleasing recollection and infinite comfort of not feeling *self-accused* of having *abetted* the systems in this reign which have brought on all the national calamities, and which, perhaps, too, have laid the foundation of endangering the material felicities of the constitution of this country."

In the speech from the throne, on the 31st of October, the King alluded with triumphant hope to the victory on Long Island, but informed his Parliament that notwithstanding the fair prospect, it was necessary to prepare for another campaign. Amendments to the Address were proposed by Lord Rockingham and Lord John Cavendish, which were rejected by large majorities. Early in November, Lord John Cavendish moved for a revisal of all the laws by which the Americans considered themselves aggrieved. His motion was negatived by 109 to 47. From this time forth, a large portion of the Rockingham party, considering, as they afterwards urged, that "there was no saving a people against their will, determined to reserve their exertions for a season when the national delirium should so far abate as to afford some hope of advantage." Accordingly, they withdrew themselves from Parliament, and to mark their conduct the more, attended in the mornings upon private business, but as soon as a public question was introduced, took a formal leave of the Speaker, and immediately withdrew.

SIR GEORGE SAVILE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

RUFFORD, *January* 15*th*, 1777.

"I WILL not contend to which of us the plunging again into the unpromising business of politics is most unpleasant. You have, however, given me a high idea of your reluctance by comparing it to mine. I am sure there is nothing in the present aspect of things that tends in the least to counterbalance my natural propensities. I have thought some time that we are for the present moment (but, perhaps, a pretty long present moment) *cut out* in every sense, by which I mean not only *out of play* in the common sense of the word, but we are in the shade as to the voice of the public in general. We are not only patriots *out of place*, but patriots out *of the opinion of the public.* The repeated successes, *hollow* as I think them, and the more *ruinous* if they *are real*, have fixed or converted ninety-nine in one hundred. The cause itself wears away by degrees from a question of right and wrong between subjects, to a war between us and a foreign nation, in which justice is never heard, because love of one's country, which is a more favourite virtue, is on the other side. I see marks of this everywhere, and in all ranks; I am, I think, sure of it. I think I am pretty sure too, that so little present alteration can be made by anything we can do, that the choice of different ways of acting is become a matter of greater indifference than ever. Impatience always solicits to move when one is in pain, for there is no rule of acting so false as that one must always do *something.* To be still till the foils even rot with the weather is I confess bad doctrine. It is almost impossible not to kick. We have been used to this consolation at the bottom of our cup, that we had the public opinion. It is hard to give it up. *We have it not most certainly.* A proper, temperate, and steady behaviour may replace us *in a long time:* trying at it—never. Unless we can submit to even this disgrace on a yet larger scale, we have no virtue. If it be a doubt whether ably addressing the public from time to time (by writers, &c.) would in times past have had a good effect, there can be no doubt now. It is too late now.

I mean as to any immediate effect. Nothing that has happened has in the least changed my feelings or opinions. We have fully enough, I conceive, expressed ourselves in Parliament. To do it again and again would be, I think, cheapening ourselves only to disturb that good humour with which the good company is doing mischief. But I think that we owe to ourselves a *pièce justificative,* but by no means with the *least* expectation of its having the *least* present effect. If the return of the season (seven years, or longer, in politics) brings up the seed, I am well contented. I do not say I should not like it sooner, but we *cannot have* it, and the expectation will cause it to be sown too shallow, and mar the *great* success. I do not recollect any part of the piece that has been drawn up (at least, generally speaking) that is not sound and fit for this solid *justification in the end.* But what I have said sufficiently proves to me that the effect does not depend upon any lucky hitting on the nick of time, just after or just before a Gazette or the like. This is all I could say or would have said had I been at twenty meetings before Parliament. I am ready to join in any measure that has this for its object. If any one thinks that there is more choice of times and occasions than I do, I most readily acquiesce, upon my own principles, for I ought not surely to contend against any reason which prudence may suggest as to the time, who profess myself so little envious about that choice from any lights I have.

Your obedient humble servant,

G. SAVILE."

Early in February, the Ministers brought into Parliament "a Bill to enable his Majesty to detain and secure persons charged with high treason in America, or on the high seas for piracy." A meeting of the opposition was held at Lord Rockingham's to decide upon the course which the party should take upon this Bill, and it was there agreed that they should abstain from attending either House. The letter which follows was written prior to the meeting.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

WELBECK, *Saturday, February* 15*th*, 1777.

"MY DEAR LORD,

I was much concerned to hear from Plumer that there was to be a meeting in Grosvenor Square, to consider whether and in what stage the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act was to be opposed.

The magnitude seemed to me more particularly to require our absence, and the desire in some of attending it, proves more fully the propriety of the determination of seceding from all public business. It was surely to waken and rouse the people, to point out to them the proper objects of their confidence, to mark out the danger they ran by blindly trusting to the conduct of the present Administration, that we resolved to secede.

Arguments had been tried in vain; repeated warnings had been sufficiently given; they were therefore to be left to themselves. Whereas now, on the contrary, in the very moment that they might have awakened, we step in to prevent their slumber from being interrupted, and assume the part which of all others must be the most pleasing to the Ministry and the Court. They will glory in their majority, and hold forth the opposers of the Bill as a few insignificant individuals who are not worth their taking into pay, and the public has sufficient credulity to believe that that is the only motive of opposition.

Our silence hitherto, and coming out upon this particular question, will be adduced as a proof of the assertion. I am therefore most exceedingly sorry for what has happened, and shall as seriously lament the resolution, if it should be taken, of making any further struggle upon this ground, particularly if Lord John, Sir G. Savile, or Burke should compose it. At the same time, I hope you will not imagine that I shall refuse my attendance if it is wished for by you and the last-mentioned friends, for I am sure we cannot differ in opinion upon the measure proposed; the only doubt with me, respects the propriety of giving that opinion in our plans in parliament."

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Goodwood,
Wednesday night, February 19th, 1777.

"I am much obliged to you for the trouble you have taken in writing me so particular an account of the difficulties you have been under with your friends about non-attendance. I confess that the inconveniencies which presented themselves to every plan, when we discussed them so fully at your house, made me think it of no great consequence which was followed, and the worst I see has happened, that is, the plan that was adopted has not been steadily pursued. This, indeed, was foreseen, and was a part of the difficulty. The only comfort is, that as it seemed almost impossible to do *any good any way*, 'tis to be hoped *no great harm* has been done; we are but where we were. If I must say what conduct appears to be at present liable to the fewest objections, it would be attendance and opposition upon great questions in a melancholy desponding way, or if one finds a disposition among friends to go farther, to move for inquiries relative to the expense; for I have so very bad an opinion of my countrymen, that I believe nothing will move us, but being obliged *to pay*. Injustice, rapine, murder, desolation, loss of liberty, all these we can inflict, or suffer our fellow-subjects to endure, but when we are to pay, we shall grumble. I should, therefore, recommend the working this point almost alone: it is our only chance.

RICHMOND."

The next letter from the Duke of Richmond is not written in a more cheering strain.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

GOODWOOD, *August* 19*th*, 1777.

"I AM sorry to find that you continue to entertain so gloomy an opinion of the state of affairs. In one sense indeed it gives but too much room for melancholy; it is by misfortune and by feeling the bad effects of the present measure, that more salutary ones will be adopted. We must grieve at the means, but they are coming on apace; it becomes daily more and more evident that we cannot succeed in reducing America. It is said, and I believe truly, that this war has already destroyed 30,000 Americans and 10,000 English; it has cost us fifteen million, and will cost us as many more, in articles furnished and not brought to account, though we should make peace to-morrow. You will very properly ask me whether I see any prospect of good from a change? To that I answer, much will depend upon circumstances and events. We cannot be in a worse way than we are at present; some of the misfortunes themselves which our present measures tend to, will be a less evil, as they may teach us to stop in time and prevent the remainder, and such I verily believe will be our case. The disposition ' the nation will then be in, will determine whether more or less good can be done.

* * * * *

I hear an account is come to Portsmouth, that General Prescott is again taken by the Americans, and a brother of Lord Ailesford's killed. I believe the account to be true. I do not hear of any particulars of what Howe's army is doing. How do you like Burgoyne's proclamation?" *

At the close of the session, Mr. Burke defended the course taken by himself and his political associates in his "Address to the Sheriffs of Bristol," which is published in the collection of his works.† The publication soon called forth a commentator in the person of Willoughby Bertie, fourth Earl of Abingdon.

This nobleman, who was born in 1740, received his education at Westminster and Oxford, but going at an early age to Geneva, became imbued with many of the democratic doctrines that were promulgated in that Republic. He was a man of considerable talent, of fervid temperament, and much eccentricity: he spoke frequently and effectively in Parliament, and always in opposition to Lord North's Government, and would in modern times be deemed "a Whig and something more." It was his habit to send his speeches to the newspapers, but having in one of them reflected on the character of a Mr. Sermon, an attorney, he was sentenced to a few month's imprisonment for a libel.

Burke in his letter had defended the secession of himself and his friends. In justifying the course taken by the Whigs on the Declaratory Act, Burke declared himself zealous for "the supremacy of Parliament and the rights of this imperial crown." These expressions

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* See page 332 of this volume.

† Burke's Works, 4to edition, vol. ii., pp. 103—155.

suited not the republican views of Lord Abingdon, who commented upon them with much severity, and compared the language then used to the "sanctified phraseology" of Dr. Markham, Archbishop of York, formerly Head Master of Westminster School, who had lately preached and published a Sermon inculcating "Passive obedience and non-resistance." "I am aware," writes Lord Abingdon, "how much I differ from the very able Prelate, who is for harnessing Church and State together like coach and horses, that he as one of the divines may enjoy the smack of the whip; a smack which he cannot forget, and which he gave me reason to remember when I was at Westminster School, but as I am now out of his clutches, so I hope I am out of his books too, at least such as are akin to his political sermons."

Mason the poet who took more extreme views than the Whigs at this period, was enchanted with the noble republican's remarks. "Are you not content," he writes to Walpole on the 21st September, "with Lord Abingdon's pamphlet? Are you not more? are you not glad he has so well puffed away Burke's sophistries? Who would have thought of this little David? I am sure I should not have been surprised if I had seen him knocking down a black-bird with a sling; my lord's Grace of York will not be pleased." *

Although Lord Abingdon was thus at issue with Lord Rockingham's confidential friend, he entertained the highest respect for the virtuous leader of the Whigs

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* Walpole and Mason Correspondence, vol. i., p. 309.

himself, and coincided very generally in some of the sentiments expressed by Burke.

"I sympathise with him (Burke) most cordially in those feelings of humanity, which mark in language so expressive the abhorrence of his nature to the effusion of human blood. I agree with him in idea that this war with America is 'fruitless, hopeless, and unnatural,' and I will add, on the part of Great Britain, cruel and unjust. I join hand and hand with him in all his propositions for peace, and I look with longing eyes for the event. I participate with him in the happiness of those friendships and connexions, which are the subjects so deserved by his panegyric. The name of Rockingham is a sacred deposit in my bosom. I have found him disinterested, I know him to be honest. Before I quit him, therefore, I will abandon nature."

EDMUND BURKE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

BEACONSFIELD, *September* 1777.

"MY DEAR LORD,

I do not think, that ever since I had the honour of being known to your Lordship, I have been so long a time without any correspondence with you upon any public matter whatever. I hear sometimes that you are well, and that is enough. I choose neither to disturb your tranquillity, nor to add to my own uneasiness, by any fruitless speculation upon a course of conduct which I am afraid, neither generally, nor in the detail, is much in our choice. I really have nothing to say; I have thought little on business, and like so very little the general aspect of affairs, that I endeavour to banish them out of my imagination as much as I can. I have not read so much as a newspaper for near a month past. The only politics I have looked at, were (what indeed has been obtruded on me) the contents of Lord Abingdon's pamphlet. I am glad to see that he professes in so handsome a manner his attachment to your Lordship. I see he has not forgotten me. His reasonings are not very powerful, as I conceive; but as his book tends to give people an idea of some sort of distraction among ourselves, and as it appears at a time that all the marauders of the opposition have thought proper, as I am told, to turn their arms and to attack me: so respectable a name amongst them must tend to give them a little credit. My Lord Mansfield's grand argument, and that on which the whole policy of his debate turns, is to make out that every individual, acting in public, and every party, have alike contributed their share to the present unhappy state of things; and that therefore no one can now with decency reproach or hereafter justly punish those who direct the present measures. A considerable number amongst us, among whom is this well-meaning peer, give fully into this stratagem of their adversary; and what they do from weakness, another body amongst us, perhaps not much more wise, though not half so well-intentioned, are working hard at, from what they think deep design. I am not wholly without thoughts of answering that pamphlet; because it may serve to answer also those with whom I should not wish so much to commit myself. I think

I could give satisfaction relative to his great point of objection, to any, even to the weakest man, of any tolerable good meaning. If I should give way to my inclination, in truth more than my judgment, in this particular, you may rely altogether on my moderation, and the style of decorum which I shall use with this noble polemic politician.

Your Lordship will be so good as to present my humble duty to Lady Rockingham.

I am ever,
Your Lordship's most faithful and obliged
Humble servant,
EDMUND BURKE."

The three letters which follow, exhibit the state of public opinion at this period, of the American war. They also indicate the feeling of despondency which had taken possession of the advocates of a pacific policy.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

WHITEHALL, *November 2nd*, 1777.

"MY DEAR LORD,

About a fortnight ago the Duke of Manchester called on me at Goodwood from Brighthelmstone, and asked me to write to you to know what plan was thought of to be pursued at the opening of the Session, or during the winter, because if any opposition was to be carried on he would not weaken the members by withdrawing himself, but if our plan was to continue our absence from Parliament, he should take the opportunity of going to Paris for a few months. I hear Lord Granby has seen Lord Chatham, has had a long conversation with him, in which Lord Granby expresses a wish for union among the different parties in opposition. Lord Chatham gave him fine words, but no one precise idea on which Lord Granby could build any hopes. Lord Chatham said he meant to attend the first day."

Fortune for a time appeared to befriend the royal cause. The British troops forced the passage of the Brandywine, entered Philadelphia in triumph, and drove the Americans from Lake Champlain. After commenting upon these transactions, and alluding to some rumours of further successes of the British arms, the Duke adds,—

"I believe it is also true, that a very great man said, within these few days, that he expected accounts of a general defeat very soon. We shall certainly know more particulars before the meeting of Parliament, and although I think they ought not, I know they will have a great effect both on majority and minority, and on the the public, according as the army has been more or less successful. For my part, I cannot think the condition of the British empire bettered by one part of its forces having lost several thousand men in butchering as many more of those we vainly wish to call our subjects; nor can I think that any victories, or any submission, can secure to us the possession of a country we have so unpardonably injured. But yet I know that if our troops have success, the nation will be ready to go on with another campaign, and it will only be if our troops fail we shall feel the impracticability, absurdity, and wickedness of our present proceedings. But although I am sensible how much good or bad news will affect the feelings of men at the opening of the Session, I do not think it ought to affect our proceedings, being convinced that this war was originally unjust, that its continuance is ruinous, and that even success would be dangerous. We must continue to show our abhorrence and detestation of it. Whether we should do so by actual opposition, or by secession, is a question. But it is high time it were decided. As I think you will be glad to collect the opinion of your friends upon that subject, I am ready to give you mine. I believe that a general and total secession of all parts of opposition, with strong reasons offered to the King or the public, might have a good effect. But we have found this impossible. Not only all parts of opposition would not agree to it, but even our own friends could not be brought to be of a mind either in staying away or in giving reasons. To pursue it at present seems to me a weakness that will tend to our dissolution; for it is activity alone that can keep up party. Burke's defence of our conduct is ingenious,* but when some of our principal friends will not adhere to it, we condemn ourselves, and in truth there is much to be said for not giving up attempts we know to be right, from a despondency of success. But whether the measure was originally right or wrong, it has been tried and failed. I am, therefore, clearly of opinion, that it ought now to be abandoned, and that we should resume active opposition. I will say, too, that the people begin to feel the continuance of the war, the losses, the taxes, the load of debt, the want of money, and the impossibility of such success as to re-establish a permanent tranquillity. I am far from being sanguine in hoping to be able to reverse the present system at present; but if we push inquiries this winter upon the misconduct of the war; if we bring to light the infamous jobs that are carrying on; if we call forth the attention of the nation to the losses, to the expenses; I do not despair but that the bad successes which must attend another campaign, and chiefly the little advances our armies can make, will by that time operate to some effect. Your Lordship may say, And what then? Can we be mad enough to undertake the Administration in the present wretched state of our affairs, if we could get rid of the present set of men? I say, certainly not, if we can only bring about a suspension of the present evils, and are not allowed to eradicate the cause, I mean the overgrown influence of the Crown, which must be much curtailed indeed before any real good can be done, such a reformation can only be brought about by a Minister called for by the voice of the nation, feeling deeply under calamity. To let them arrive at the last period of it would be too late for recovery; to induce them to call in time we must be active in pointing out and making them sensible of the dangers the present system exposes them to, and fairly avow the remedies we would substitute. Experience of the truth of our predictions may give them confidence, and when they know our plans, they know what they have to look up to. This may succeed, but I would at least contend for the only honourable way of succeeding, I might add the only safe way."

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* Burke's "Address to the Sheriffs of Bristol."

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

WHITEHALL, *Friday, November 6th*, 1777.

"MY DEAR LORD,

I am this moment honoured with your letter, enclosing one from the Duke of Manchester, which I return herewith, and agree entirely with your Lordship and the Duke of Richmond in thinking that *all is over for this country;* that I scarce know how to wish for activity, not being able to see the possibility of any good effect from it at present. I will, however, endeavour to prevail upon Sir G. Savile to be in town as soon as you wish him, provided he returns either to Rufford or Sandbeach, at neither of which places he is at present, nor is his actual residence known any further than that Stockton was the last place at which he was heard of. Lord Scarborough, I understand, will be in town about the time you mention, and I will try to be there on Sunday, though I think it will be difficult for me to reach London before Monday noon. General Howe's success (for some he certainly has had), and the probability of his being in possession of Philadelphia this winter, will, I fear, counterbalance every hope that might have been entertained of the Americans perceiving the destruction which must inevitably follow the measures and system of the Court; and such is the infatuation, that, instead of inquiring how their money has been spent, you will see them exert their liberality in giving beyond their powers for the prosecution of a war which must infallibly end, under such conduct, in the ruin of this country, and the annihilation of every principle of good government and sound policy. Should the American campaign end as there was a probability of its doing when your Lordship wrote the first part of your letter, and should the Duke of Manchester's ideas respecting France prove true, I could give some credit for the passion of fear prevailing over that of revenge and lust of power; but you will excuse my making any allowance for principles which, in general, are totally eradicated by this time. I, therefore, am as little sanguine about their being ever recurred to again as I am confident in Lord Shelburne's professions, whom I have known for a much longer space than seventeen years. What, therefore, can be the reasons for the Duke of Richmond being anxious for our acting with vigour, I am at a loss to guess, but I shall learn them in London; I can easily wait till that time. I have often intended to come over to Wentworth in the course of the summer, but have been as often prevented by avocations of a private nature, the detail of which is now unnecessary to enter into. The Duchess is very well, and unites in best compliments with mine to Lady Rockingham.

I am, with the sincerest regard and affection,
My dear Lord,
Your most faithful and obedient,
PORTLAND."

SIR GEORGE SAVILE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

RUFFORD, *November* 15*th*, 1777.

"MY LORD,

I found your Lordship's letter here on my arrival, which was not till last night. I cannot say that I find myself in any degree disposed to attempt anything beyond the bare letter of public duty,—I mean the formal attendance on Parliament, and the giving a regular and uniform negative, *sufficiently open* to every natural question that relates to the present object of our folly, madness, and wickedness. Seeing no middle way between this and an open and declared secession, I cannot see that the least good can arise from consultations which might indeed be more proper on ordinary occasions. If the business was, as of old time, to procure a copy of the Speech and Address, and consult how it might best be altered in this or that phrase or paragraph, so as still to make grammar, and at the same time get a minority of seventy-one instead of sixty-nine to vote for the amendment, it would be another case; but in the present situation of the business, I dare say you are most perfectly convinced that it is now even an impertinent kind of meddling in an affair that is to be settled by the referees, Howe and Washington, Burgoyne and Arnold. The only idea that would in any way have pretensions to our present consideration would be the former one of a secession. Now it was at best a most difficult question, even when circumstances were most favourable to it; but having been baulked once, it is surely now out of all sight; and there is not the least prospect of its being done with either *grace* or *effect*. The former I should not care twopence for, if it was not necessary to the latter. I dare say you are convinced, likewise, that the *people* are yet on the side of war; and will so continue, notwithstanding taxes, so long as there is success, or anything that can be *made up* for their market to appear so. And this will be a long time yet. People are as fond of good news as women are of their beauty; and painting in all its degrees, from a little rouge to a complete coat, is therefore continued long after there is any sign of beauty left. Bonfires, effigies of Washington, etc., were exhibited at Nottingham and Newark on the Liverpool news, notwithstanding the intelligence of another cast from Burgoyne; so that you see a face painted on one side will do. I don't mean that the Liverpool news was a mere fiction. It is, I dare say, true in a great degree, for a letter of the 18th, from ———*, says, *they expect to hear of Philadelphia being taken, and of the* TOTAL *defeat of Washington;* intelligence being received that a part was defeated with great loss; now the Liverpool news was, I think, the 19th. I did not see the letter, but this is the account I have of it. Now I think this situation is such as will furnish a very plausible opening of a Parliament whose disposition we have a measure of. I am morally certain it will satisfy them very well. I have little doubt of Howe's having Philadelphia, and of Burgoyne's being probably obliged to retire, and, if the latter be true, the Provincials will, I suppose, be able to make Howe's situation inconvenient all the winter. This I don't state as an account by any means probable against *the field*, but I think more likely than any *one* other I can think of. Now this, I say, furnishes such a situation as will do very handsomely. We are as well as we were. A campaign more is wanting, as there was last year; and (just therefore altering 1776 to 1777) our managers have taken care that our affairs should not go backwards, and I cannot see any one argument can be urged by minority that has not been answered over and over again by majority, and successfully answered. That we have spent more money is a fresh reason for fighting on for costs and damages, and our loss of lives (which, however, I dare say, does not amount to above one an hour) is a sufficient reason for hiring foreigners.

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* Name illegible.

Now either matters are nearer a conclusion than I state them, and the war, by the late success, pretty near an end, or they are, as above stated, in the same uncertainty as last year. In the first case, it is pretty clear that our public views would not be heard of, if we were to try to plead for a temperate use of victory (the only office left us), and, in the other case, we are but too well taught by experience how little all we can do, or say, or think, or *consult about*, avails. I say nothing of our *paralytic* state, on which you know my sentiments, and which is of itself sufficient to determine my judgment. You will know what I mean by the palsy when I describe it to be of that very peculiar and whimsical kind that when one side would move, the other is struck motionless; and when the latter is disposed to be vigorous and active, then the fit seizes the former; and this sweet vicissitude is certain, constant and regular, and has lasted years. A mortifying as well as ridiculous addition to the case being that the whole body of the patient, were it to unite its vigour, couldn't kill a mouse. Those things altogether, I fairly confess, together with but moderate natural spirits or health, &c., &c., have so thoroughly mortified and discouraged me, that my doubt was whether to come up to the meeting or no, not whether I should hasten my coming an hour before it."

In a letter dated the 27th November, 1777, which is published in the Chatham Correspondence, Lord Rockingham informs Lord Chatham that at a meeting of the leaders of opposition at his house, it was proposed to move in both Houses to take the state of the nation into consideration, and that the Duke of Richmond thought no notice should be given, "unless immediately followed up with motions for papers, &c." Lord Chatham replies in a letter of the same date.

EARL OF CHATHAM TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

November 27th, 1777.

"WITH some sensations of gout about me, I am fortunate to be able to offer your Lordship many acknowledgments for the honour of your very obliging letter with my own hand. It is highly flattering to me to have my sentiments in my absence wished to be collected upon the occasion; there appears room for doubt; but *on the whole of the present strange conjuncture*, I think the *direct, right forward* proceeding, the most advisable. I fear that all delay would tend to cool a public already too cold; and that, moreover, *indecision* might create jealousy, and stand in the way of returning mutual *confidence* and *re-union*, so necessary to the preservation of the whole; *all must unite* at present, or all must be lost. I grieve that my own health does not enable me to offer much assistance, but such attendance as I can give shall be devoted to the public. I have not seen Lord Camden;* I am to have that pleasure to-morrow morning. I have the honour to agree with the Duke of Richmond in thinking that papers should be moved for if notice is given. What papers should first come may deserve to be well considered. I incline to think, *not to call* for the most material and alarming at *first* may be more prudential; but I submit this and all my other hasty immediate thoughts to better opinions. A thousand acknowledgments attend your Lordship for the trouble your goodness has caused you to take in putting me so clearly in possession of all that has passed in this most interesting moment. A severe cold and some sensations of gout have been upon me ever since I returned hither, but not enough to confine me. I hope, with best care, to keep myself in a condition to be sometimes forthcoming."

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* Lord Camden objected to immediate proceedings as requiring a more strict attendance than he could engage for.

CHAPTER XII.

BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL. — SIR W. HOWE. — THE RED INDIANS. — CONDUCT OF THE WAR. — GENERAL BURGOYNE. — SIR HENRY CLINTON. — LETTERS OF GENERAL CLINTON TO GENERAL HARVEY. — CATASTROPHE AT SARATOGA. — CONDUCT OF LORD CHATHAM. — FRESH OVERTURES FROM THE COURT TO THE WHIGS. — ESTIMATE OF LORD CHATHAM AND THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Previous to laying before the reader an autograph document of George the Third, and some letters from Sir Henry Clinton, it may be expedient very shortly to allude to the state of affairs at the period to which they refer. Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne arrived at Boston on the 25th May, 1775, that city being then occupied by the British forces under the command of General Gage. The first event of importance after their landing, was the battle of Bunker's Hill, fought on the 17th June. It ended in favour of the British; but they lost many men, and it is said that the victory would have been more decisive, had the advice of Sir Henry Clinton been attended to. It was here that Sir William Howe, who stopped at Bunker's Hill instead of moving forward to Cambridge, first showed that want of vigour in following up his successes, which afterwards proved so fatal in many instances to the royal cause. This officer, though generally successful in regular battles, and evincing a good deal of skill in many of his operations, was unfortunately disqualified for the Guerilla warfare in which he was about to be engaged. From a want of vigilance, his posts were frequently surprised—he could seldom procure true intelligence, and was sometimes the dupe of false. His minute attention to the dress and appearance of his troops in the field would, in these days of less ceremonious warfare, have been treated with contemptuous ridicule. Whilst the soldiers ought to have been pursuing the enemy, they were delayed in pipe-claying their belts, powdering their hair, and tying their pig-tails. On two occasions, Washington alludes to the effects of this sort of procrastination. He says, after his retreat across the Delaware River in 1776: "Nothing but the infatuation of the enemy could have saved America:" and, again in May 1777, he writes: "Nothing but a good face and false appearance have enabled us hitherto to deceive the enemy respecting our strength." Under such a commander, it is not surprising that Clinton should have been discontented, and querulous. He thought, moreover, that the extent of his command was not commensurate with his pretensions; and we find him complaining also of a want of confidence and communication on the part of his chief. During the year 1776 his name seldom occurs, and during a part of 1777 he was in England; but he returned in time to make the successful attack upon Forts Montgomery and Clinton, which is described in his letters of the 13th and

14th October. It was a short time previous to the attack that General Burgoyne descended from Canada into the northern districts upon his ill-fated expedition.

From no point of view does the survey of this campaign present one cheering prospect. Its object was tyrannical, the means employed cruel and impolitic, and the result disastrous. The highest war authority of the period, Lord Chatham, asserted that even if success had declared in our favour, the plan of an attack from Canada would have been a wanton waste of blood and treasure. As in the preceding campaign, recourse was had to the alliance of the native savage and the foreign mercenary:

> "The fierce Croatian and the wild Hussar,
> With all the sons of ravage crowd the war."

In resorting to the expedient of employing the Red Indian, it might be pleaded in extenuation, that insurgent as well as royalist had called in the aid of the tomahawk and scalping knife. For the employment of the Hessians and Brunswickers, no apology can be made; the measure was as inhuman as it was unwise.

"If" says Lord Mahon, "any men were needed, was there any lack of them in England? was it wise to inform foreign States that we deemed ourselves thus dependent on foreign aid. Was it wise to hold forth to America the first example of obtaining assistance from abroad? Above all, if conciliation was the object full as much as conquest, how signal the imprudence thus in the midst of a civil strife, to thrust forward aliens to both parties, in blood, in language, and in manners."*

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* Lord Mahon's History of England.

The adoption of these foreigners into the British wars had been viewed with disgust by every well regulated mind in our own country. In Germany, the princely dealers in this inhuman traffic were held up to the execration of the neighbouring States. Old Frederick of Prussia, in bitter irony, said he "should make all the Hessian troops, marching through his dominions to America, pay the usual cattle tax, because though human beings, they had been sold as beasts." * In a more serious tone, Schiller has alluded to the inhuman conduct of these petty sovereigns in one of his tragedies. In the second act of the second scene of the "Kabale und Liebe," an old valet of the Duke brings a present of jewels to Lady Milford, his Highness' favourite, who asks :—

"What did these jewels cost?"

Valet. Nothing.

Lady. M. Did you say these precious jewels cost nothing?

Valet. Yesterday, seven thousand children of the land left their homes for America—they pay for all.

Lady M. What distresses you, old man? you are weeping.

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* Preuss's "Friederich der Grosse," in quotation from Kortüm's "Geschichte der Nord-Amerikanischen Revolution," Zurich, 1829. The idea is expressed in a letter from the same King to Voltaire :—"Je vous remercie du 'Catéchisme des Souverains,' production que je n'attendais pas de M. le Landgrave de Hesse. Vous me faites trop d'honneur de m'attribuer son éducation. S'il étoit sorti de mon école, il ne serait point fait Catholique, et il n'auroit pas vendu ses sujets aux Anglois comme on vend le bétail pour l'égorger." *Œuvres Posthumes*, tom. i., p. 325.

Valet. Yes; for those jewels—my two sons are among the number.

Lady M. But they went not on compulsion?

Valet (*laughing bitterly*). Oh dear no! they were all volunteers. There were certainly some few forward lads who pushed to the front of the ranks and inquired at what price the Prince sold his subjects per yoke.* Upon which our gracious ruler ordered the regiments to be marshalled on parade, and the malcontents to be shot. We heard the report of the muskets, and saw brains and blood spirting about, while the whole band shouted—Hurra for America!"†

The Jacobites used to complain that a species of rat never before seen in England, came over with the Hanoverian dynasty. In like manner the American loyalists speak of a new fly that first made its appearance on the introduction of German troops into their country.

The following document copied from the original in the British Museum, is in the hand-writing of George the Third.

REMARKS ON THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR FROM CANADA.

"The outlines of the plan seem to be on a proper foundation. The rank and file of the army now in Canada (including the 11th Regiment of British, M'Clean's corps, the Brunswicks and Hanover), amount to 10,527; add the eleven additional companies and four hundred Hanover Chasseurs, the total will be 11,443.

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* "Wie theuer der Fürst das Joch Menschen verkaufe."

† Bohn's Standard Library, vol. iv., pp. 258, 259.

As sickness and other contingencies must be expected, I should think not above 7000 effectives can be spared over Lake Champlain; for it would be highly imprudent to run any risk in Canada.

The fixing the stations of those left in the province may not be quite right, though the plan proposed may be recommended. Indians must be employed, and this measure must be avowedly directed, and Carleton must be in the strongest manner directed that the Apollo shall be ready by that day, to receive Burgoyne.

The magazines must be formed with the greatest expedition, at Crown Point.

If possible, possession must be taken of Lake George, and nothing but an absolute impossibility of succeeding in this, can be an excuse for proceeding by South Bay and Skeeneborough.

As Sir W. Howe does not think of acting from Rhode Island into the Massachusets, the force from Canada must join him in Albany.

The diversion on the Mohawk River ought at least to be strengthened by the addition of the four hundred Hanover Chasseurs.

The Ordnance ought to furnish a complete proportion of intrenching tools.

The provisions ought to be calculated for a third more than the effective soldiery, and the General ordered to avoid delivering these when the army can be subsisted by the country. Burgoyne certainly greatly undervalues the German recruits.

The idea of carrying the army by sea to Sir W. Howe, would certainly require the leaving a much larger part of it in Canada, as in that case the rebel army would divide that province from the immense one under Sir W. Howe. I greatly dislike this last idea."

Before taking the field Burgoyne issued a pompous proclamation to the American insurgents, and made a long speech to the Indian chiefs. As a proof of the estimate he had formed of the humanity of these warriors, he enjoined them that "under no pretence they should scalp the wounded, or even the dying, much less kill persons in that condition." *

His beginning was prosperous. He took Ticonderoga,

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* This document was afterwards most unmercifully handled by Burke in the House of Commons. "Apropos," writes Walpole, "his (Burke's) parody of Burgoyne's talk with the Indians was the *chef d'œuvre* of wit, humour, and just satire, and almost suffocated Lord North himself with laughter, as his pathetic description of the barbarities of the Cis-atlantic wrongs

'Drew iron tears from Barré's cheek.'

. . . . He exhorted them by the dictates of *our* holy religion and by their reverence to *our* constitution, to repair to His Majesty's standard. 'Where was that?' said Burke; 'on board Lord Dunmore's ship?'—and he exhorted them (I suppose by the same human and divine laws) not to touch the hair of the head of man, woman, or child, while living, though he was willing to deal with them for scalps of the dead, being a nice and distinguished judge between the scalp taken from a dead person and the head of a person that dies of being scalped. 'Let us state this Christian exhortation and injunction,' said Burke, 'by a more familiar picture: suppose there was a riot on Tower Hill having previously defeated the enemy, and was advancing southward towards Albany, when the Americans gathering upon his flank and rear, he applied to Sir Henry Clinton for assistance and orders; Clinton promised him the former, but having no authority from the Commander-in-Chief to give him orders, he declined the responsibility of doing so. As a diversion, however, in his favour, he attacked the above named forts, and would probably have saved Burgoyne's army, had he immediately pushed on to Albany. He halted at Fort Montgomery for above a week, and the opportunity was lost. The result is well known. Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga to his old brother officer, General Gates, to whom he had given the nickname of "the *Accoucheur*," and who congratulated his witty prisoner, upon his having happily delivered him of six thousand men.

Our business with Sir Henry Clinton * ends with the date of his letters. It is beyond the limits and intention of this work to enter into a more detailed account of the American war. The result of this disastrous contest is now become a matter of history.

—what would the keeper of his Majesty's lions do? Would he not fling open the dens of the wild beasts, and then address them thus: My gentle lions, my humane bears, my sentimental wolves, my tender-hearted hyænas, go forth; but I exhort you, as ye are Christians and members of a civilised society, to take care not to hurt man, or woman, or child,'" &c., &c.—*Walpole and Mason Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 336.

* Sir Henry Clinton returned to England in 1782, was appointed Governor of Limerick, and died in 1795. His martial spirit survived in his descendants, and the later annals of the British army bear honourable testimony to the services of his distinguished sons, the late Generals, Sir William and Sir Henry Clinton.

But before entirely quitting this distasteful subject, it may be permitted to recall to the minds of the present generation the lessons that it tends to inculcate. England still possesses an abundance of colonies which are rapidly increasing in size and importance, and which will one day rival the mother country in population and intelligence. Let her not be to them the harsh step-mother that she was to her American subjects. Let her early initiate them into the benefits of British institutions, and lead them to retain, in all their force, the influence of British associations; that, when they separate, as, whenever they are fully able to maintain their own civil and military establishments, they may be expected to do, they may part from her with the kindness and affection of children leaving an attached mother, instead of being driven from her arms by harshness and injustice; let her recollect that there are public as well as private ties; and that as the child, when grown to maturity, becomes emancipated from parental authority, so the colony may reasonably aspire to the distinctive privilege of self-government and independence, instead of remaining for ever under the authority of a distant country.

GENERAL CLINTON TO GENERAL HARVEY.

October 13*th* (1777).

"You will have heard probably, before this meets you, that my attempt upon Fort Montgomery and Clinton, &c., and all their posts in the highlands, has succeeded beyond my utmost hope: the communication with Albany is now open, but I fear Burgoyne is not there to avail himself of it. I inclose you a copy of a letter from the rebel Governor of this State. I have the original, taken among his papers; by it you will see the consequence of the little stroke I have had the good fortune to strike. I likewise send you the letters that passed between General Burgoyne and me, before I attempted it. In all my letters (wrote in cyphers) to General Burgoyne, I describe the defenceless state I have been left in; how little it is in my power to give him the least assistance. On the 12th of September I sent a messenger to him with three lines in cypher. 'You know my poverty, but if, with 2000 men, which is all I can spare from this important post, I can do anything to facilitate your operations, I will make an attack upon Fort Montgomery if you will let me know your wishes.' On the 30th of September I received his answer, the following words by the same messenger:—'I have lost the old cypher; but, from the tenor of your letter, I thought you would have it to read—an attack, or even the menace of an attack upon Fort Montgomery, will be of use; it will stir them from before me, and I will follow them close.' In a second letter of the same date, he says that should I not be able to carry Montgomery, the keeping it besieged will help; should Gates detach to support Putnam, and I conceive he cannot be supported elsewhere, depend upon me to follow him—lose no time. The first of these letters I received (as I said before) on the 30th of September. On the 2nd of October I began my march, as it was necessary to give jealousy elsewhere; and, on the 6th, I made my stroke near sixty miles up the river. On the night of the 5th, a messenger, being a confidential officer from General Burgoyne, came to me, told me his situation—that he had lost his communication with Canada, that he had provisions till the 20th, described the situation of his own army; that he was in a very strong post; that though the rebels were strongly posted likewise, he made no doubt of being able to force them, and of getting to Albany; but doubted whether he could subsist there, as the country was drained there; and that therefore he could not think of going there without I could open a communication with it; could name the day on which I would be there, and, being there, would answer for keeping the communication open with New York: he further desired him to tell me that he awaited *my orders whether he should attack the rebels, or retire across the lakes while they were clear from ice:* that, if he did not hear from me by the 12th, he should retire. Thinking I should fulfill all that could be expected at his utmost wish, by even a menace at Fort Montgomery, I was much astonished to find he now expected me with 1000 (or what I could spare after guarding the post I had taken, and others on my communication with New York) to penetrate to Albany, which he, with 7000 men, had not been able to effect; not only to penetrate, but to keep, and that I should give him orders how to act. My answer by the same messenger was as follows:—Not having received my instructions from Sir William Howe, relative to the operations of the northern army, ignorant of the General's intentions respecting it (except his wish that it should get to

Albany) I could not presume to give orders; but if, in consequence of my unexpected success, as the river was now open between us, he should have decided to attack the rebel army and could to get Albany, I would do my utmost to communicate with him and give him a supply of provisions. In my situation, not having heard from General Howe for six weeks, not knowing where Washington was, having left a small force in New York, a communication of one hundred and forty miles between Albany and New York to open and keep, the important post we had taken to garrison, it was rather too greatly daring to attempt it; but I determined to venture 1700 men, under General Vaughan, to proceed up the river under convoy of Sir James Wallace and the gallies, with orders to feel for General Burgoyne, and, if possible, to assist his operations; I had likewise ready, in small vessels, such as could go within a few miles of Albany, provisions sufficient to supply General Burgoyne's army for six months. All this I had done, when I received a letter from the Commander-in-Chief acquainting me that his victories have been by no means decisive, and that, notwithstanding that I may have gone up the river (which I told him I proposed doing), if my object was not of the greatest importance and probability of fulfilling it in a few days, I was to give it up, and send him full 6000 men, which I am now doing. Good God, what a fair prospect blasted if Burgoyne is retreated! As he seemed under no apprehension of difficulties in his retreat, I dread none; but I wish, if he is gone, to hear he is safe over the lakes, having left a garrison at Ticonderoga.

Still stronger reasons every day determine me to quit this mortifying service. I expect leave from England—shall, when the campaign is over (not before on any account) ask the Commander-in-Chief's leave. He cannot refuse me, for I am determined not to serve any longer in the mortifying commands I have had, and still have."

The letter from Governor George Clinton to Colonel Mc. Glaghny, dated 29th September, orders half his regiment into Fort Montgomery, having learned from General Putnam that the forces from New York mean to attack it.

GENERAL CLINTON TO GENERAL HARVEY.

Fort Montgomery, *October* 14*th*, 1777.

"In my last you will find I succeeded in my attempt upon Fort Montgomery, &c.; an attempt I hardly dared look at; little chance of success; but, with certain arrangements, no great probability of any considerable affront, except the loss of a few men, and relinquishing my object (without I had persevered too much): on the contrary, if I succeeded, every advantage to be expected: with those hopes and fears I started, and succeeded to my most sanguine wishes; to think of it as it deserves, it was a *desperate attempt* on a *desperate occasion*. Burgoyne's real situation, with which he never made me acquainted till the moment I was entering upon action, determined me to risk everything to serve him. I will continue to assist their operations while the campaign lasts; but I will close with it. I have not received a line from the Commander-in-Chief these six weeks. I hear of his victories, but not confirmed. In my last I told you my correspondence with General Burgoyne prior to this attempt; as it is short, I will repeat it in course; in all my letters I described my starved defensive, and inability to assist his operations, but that I am resolved to try something; my attempt in Jersey, on the 11th of September, was intended to assist both armies, particularly his. The day I landed there, I despatched a messenger to him with a letter in the following terms, 'You know my poverty, but if I can serve you with 2000 men, which is all I can spare from this important post, I will make an attempt upon Montgomery if you will let me know your wishes.'

I received General Burgoyne's answer to this letter on or about the 30th of September, in the following words: 'An attack, or even the menace of an attack, upon Fort Montgomery, will be of great use; it will stir the army opposite me, and I will follow them close; do it, my dear friend, directly.' After this, could I have expected the second letter I received from him? In answer to which I have told him I am always ready to assist his operations, but cannot presume to give him orders or advice. I shall, as far as in my power (as I said before), assist, either to fix him at Albany, or any other plan he may have; or, if he determines to retreat to Canada, make such a diversion to favour that retreat as may be thought most effectual; for which purpose I have detached General Vaughan with 2000, first to feel for General Burgoyne, and then to co-operate in such a manner as will facilitate such operations as he shall have determined upon. The country comes in very fast, and my prisoners all declare that it is the severest stroke that has ever been struck: all their forts between New York and Albany destroyed; all their ships and vessels for one hundred and fifty miles, taken or burnt, and communication opened as far as vessels of draft can go; and at the instant I write this, our little fleet and army are possibly within thirty miles of Albany. In short, if Burgoyne holds there, or even is able to make a good retreat to Canada (leaving a garrison at Ticonderoga), I think these people will sue for peace. General Vaughan and near 2000 men are through the highlands, and will probably be near Albany to-morrow.

GENERAL CLINTON TO GENERAL HARVEY.

KING'S BRIDGE, *September* 16*th*.

"DEAR GENERAL,

I am this day returned from a little incursion to Jersey: my plan of operations as follows. Hearing that Sulivan, with two brigades, was on the move, either to the northward, or to cover Jersey, I proposed, should it be the first, and the route as usual, to have given him a brush about Newbridge; if the last, to have endeavoured to have got at him; and if neither were in my power, I hoped by a timely demonstration in that Province, to operate in some small degree in favour of both armies, procure a seasonable refreshment for our troops, and deprive the enemy of what they much depend on. Rebel accounts and private intelligence (for none other I had) informing me that our army was landed near Elk River, and was pushing towards Philadelphia; I made my arrangements with the Commodore, and landed the troops in the course of the night of the 11th, at the following places. Brigadier-General Campbell, at Elizabeth-town Point, with a 1000 men; my Aid-de-Camp Drummond, with 200 Highland recruits, some convalescent, and two pieces of cannon, at Parkes Hook, to go from thence over Hackinsack river, to some high grounds which command the environs of Newark and Pisaick River; Major-General Vaughan, with about 1200 at Fort Lea, from whence he marched by New-bridge, (leaving a battalion and two pieces of cannon at that place,) to Stoterdam, in which situation he commanded the ford of Pisaick River. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, of the Provincials, with 250 men, landed at Tapan, with orders to remain at Orange Town, in which situation he covered the whole right, and if pressed, had orders to fall back on Newbridge. Brigadier-General Campbell landed at day-break; his orders were, to disperse about 600 rebels, posted at Elizabeth-town; to march from thence to Newark, disarming the inhabitants, driving the cattle, (paying liberally for those belonging to friends,) liberating prisoners in the Newark jail; and when he arrived at that place, if the enemy should have assembled in too great force, for him to proceed to Aquatimack. He had it in his power to pass the Pisaick, covered by Drummond, posted on the other side for that purpose, if he chose to continue his march to Aquatimack. General Vaughan received him at the passage of that river, where you will perceive I intended the whole to assemble, and return by Newbridge, the only route I could take embarrassed with cattle. In hopes of surrounding a body of rebel Militia, and two of what is called their continental regiments, I detained General Campbell all the 13th between Newark and Aquatimack, and intended that General Vaughan should have co-operated with us; but the rebels totally and suddenly disappeared in the evening, and General Vaughan acquainted me that by information which he had received, they were assembling all their force at Smith's Close. As this gave me some jealousy for Newbridge, I judged it most prudent to assemble the whole there, which was done on the 14th; on the 15th, no appearance of the enemy. After assembling all the cattle, &c., &c., having neither tents nor blankets, the weather threatening, I thought it most advisable to retire, which was done on the 16th without being followed by a single man. About twenty-four hours afterwards, General M'Dowgal came down from Peak's Kiln, with five regiments, and they made a movement with three brigades, and all the Militia they could collect on my right. Rebel reports (for we have still no other) say that on Thursday last these was a sharp action between General Howe and the rebels; they own their loss has been very considerable; it is likewise reported that a second action happened *on the Saturday following, at the passage of the Sculkell*; if that is true, it must have been very decisive. I have the satisfaction to find that our little move was made most critically; had I known General Howe's situation or his intentions, I might, instead of looking after cattle, have made my arrangements so as to have pushed a little farther: but every move of mine, with Putnam with four brigades, and a numerous Militia so near me, must be made with caution. If the success of General Howe has been as great as is reported, it will certainly influence much; but the Eastern colonies are still untouched; let his successes be ever so great to the southward, the principal object still appears to me to have been a communication with Burgoyne, and the establishing *him* at Albany; the Eastern provinces could then have been humbled at the proper season for doing it, and operations would have been going on in the Southern provinces, in *their* proper season. I wait with impatience for the arrival of the Bristol and fleet; we are told there are considerable reinforcements on board, amongst others, artillery-men, and chasseurs; of the first I have a very starved proportion, of the last *none:* in short, with about 4000 Regulars, half foreigners, 3000 Provincials (who are eternally surprised,) little artillery, few officers and men, no chasseurs, no light infantry nor corps d'élite, nor no cavalry that I am at liberty to use, what can I do? A great extent of country to cover, and a most important place. This is my hard fate, while others, my juniors, have most brilliant commands. I cannot, nor will I submit to it, let the consequence be what it will. The bearer is a sensible man, much worth your attention. He has lived in the country a great while. We have no certain accounts from Burgoyne, *but by all I hear*, he has not 6000 men in all opposed to him. I still wish his great push had been by the Mohawk River, it would have been shorter and safer. When at Albany his communications with Ticonderoga are very long, and exposed to all the Eastern provinces, the back parts of which are very thickly settled and violent in rebellion. By the communication of Mohawk River, Wood Creek, Oneida, Lake Oswego, and across the Lake Ontario, there is good water-carriage all the way, at the small carrying places; and the whole country till you come within a few miles of Albany is Indian, and your allies.

Believe me, my dear General,
Faithfully your obedient,
H. CLINTON."

I have once more to bring John Wilkes under the notice of my readers. Since his Mayoralty, in 1774, his popularity had suffered considerable diminution. For two successive years he had been defeated in his contests for the office of City Chamberlain. His friends had now become exhausted, his creditors were clamorous, and his friends languid. The letters which immediately follow sufficiently bespeak his forlorn condition at this juncture.

SERJEANT ADAIR TO LORD ROCKINGHAM.

(ENCLOSING TWO PAPERS FROM JOHN WILKES.)

January, 1778.

"THE enclosed I send to your Lordship, just as I received them from Mr. Wilkes, without any comment, other than that, in a conversation, some time ago, he assured me that his wishes and intended line of conduct, were very far from being hostile to your Lordship, or any of your friends."

The documents from Wilkes are as follow :

January, 1778.

"SOME private gentlemen, friends of Liberty and the Constitution of this country, who do not choose to be marked objects of public abuse, have wished to make a *final effort* to extricate Mr Wilkes from his present difficulties, and to give some kind of compensation for his sufferings. They mean to leave the mode entirely to himself, and that what is thought proper to be done by any gentleman may not be divulged. They desire any assistance intended to be given may be sent privately to Mr. Wilkes, in Princes Court, Westminster."

JOHN WILKES TO SERJEANT HEWITT.

January 25th, 1778.

"YOUR time is infinitely too precious, My Dear Sir, to enlarge on the inclosed plan of our friends. Will you be so good as to transmit it to the *Marquis*, who perfectly possesses the subject. It is determined to be the *final effort*. You find me at my lowest water mark. The rivers that ran in and raised my fortunes are all dried up or take another course. What I have left is from my native spring, I have still a heart that swells in scorn of fate, and lifts me to my banks. Good-morrow."

On the 17th of February, 1778, Lord North, with deep dejection in his countenance, and tears in his eyes, moved in the House of Commons a string of resolutions, similar in their nature to Burke's conciliatory propositions, which he had two years before so arrogantly rejected. "A dull melancholy succeeded to his speech. It had been heard with profound attention, without a single mark of approbation to any part from any description of men." *

"Some unlucky quotation," writes Lord Hardwicke, on the 20th of February, "is always hatching in my head. You heard a certain *conciliatory* speech the other day, which I did not, being confined with a cold; it is Turnus to Æneas:

> "Vicisti, et victum tendere palmas,
> Ausonidæ vidêre." †

My pleasantry *inter nos*, if your Lordship pleases."

The catastrophe at Saratoga prompted the Court of Versailles to espouse openly that cause which they had long indirectly promoted. On the 19th of March the French Ambassador informed Lord Weymouth, on the part of his master, "que l'honneur de son pavillon et la protection qu'il doit au commerce des ses sujets, lui avaíent fait prendre des mésures eventuelles avec les treize états unies et independantes de l' Amérique."

Upon this significant intimation Lord Rockingham and his friends, convinced of the impossibility of again bringing the colonies into subjection by force of arms, and feeling the paramount necessity of concentrating our forces, now that England was threatened with an enemy so near home, resolved to advocate the recognition of American independence. As a preliminary step, the Duke of Richmond brought forward, on the 22nd of March, a motion to withdraw the British troops from America. It is to this motion that the first part of the following letter from the duke to Lord Rockingham has reference:—

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* Annual Register.

† Virg. Æn., xii., 936:—

> "The Latin chiefs have seen me beg my life;
> Thine is the conquest."—*Dryden.*

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

WHITEHALL, *March 15th*, 1778.

"You will remember that Lord Shelburne and Lord Camden are to be here to-night at eight o'clock. I beg you would not be later. I have not asked any members of the House of Commons, as Charles Fox told me he was to have a meeting to-night upon the business of to-morrow.* I have before shown my draft to the Duke of Manchester, and as Lord Shelburne wished to have our meeting as confined as possible, I have asked nobody but himself, Lord Camden, and your Lordship; if you would have any more, either send to them or let me know.

I have just seen Admiral Keppel, who has told me the news of the French Ambassador's having informed our Court of the treaty, and that his master was resolved to protect his flag. This event makes it the more necessary to come out with the proposition of declaring the independency of America. This being done instantly, and publicly declaring against a war with France, notwithstanding this treaty, is the only means to keep America from joining France as allies. It is the only chance we have for preventing such a measure, which must be our ruin.

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* Mr. Grenville's motion for "all communications touching a treaty between France and the revolted colonies in America."

I daresay Lord Chatham will be for instant war, without ever considering the means. This must be resisted early, or rather let us be beforehand with him, and by delaring against war show him that he cannot draw us with him into such madness. I think these two points should be spoke to tomorrow.

I am ever yours,
RICHMOND."

Lord Mahon, writing of this period, says: "Many members of the Rockingham party, feeling, as they well might, greater confidence in Lord Chatham than in their own immedate chief, and not willing at this crisis to be absent from his thoughts, desired to transmit to him, through his friend Lord Granby, the expression of their sentiments. Of that overture there is nothing further known to me beyond its mention, as follows, by the King:—'I am extremely indifferent whether Lord Granby goes or does not go with the abject message of the Rockingham party to Hayes; I will certainly send none to that place.'"*

Now, after the evidence afforded in the preceding pages, of Lord Chathasm' disingenuous and hostile treatment of the Rockingham party, for a long series of years, I must be permitted to dissent from Lord Mahon's inferences, that Lord Chatham either possessed or even deserved their confidence. Indeed, at no time had the Great Orator and the Old Whigs been more directly at issue than at the present juncture.

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* Lord Mahon's History of England, vol. vi., p. 341. Letter to Lord North, March 18, 1778.

Walpole, writing to Mason on the 4th of February, says "The enigma of the day, as he has oft been, is Lord Chatham. He has quarrelled with General Rockingham on the question of independence, and in a manner declared off; yet he is expected to day in the House of Lords to anathematise the new levies. There is much talk, too, of his coming into place, which I doubt; everybody must have discovered that his crutch is no magic wand, and if the lame leads the blind, it is not the way of shunning the ditch."

That the King was misinformed respecting any attempt of the Rockingham party to negotiate with Chatham is, I think, quite evident; for neither in the Duke of Richmond's letter, just quoted, nor in the subsequent conduct of the whole party, who acted upon the suggestions it contained, is there anything which savours of the "abject message to Hayes." It would be strange, indeed, that the sole band of statesmen who "carried into politics the same high principles of virtue which regulated their private dealings," * should at such a moment have violated their principles and so belied their practice.

The duke was quite right in his conjectures. Rather than declare the independence of America, "Lord

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* Macaulay.

Chatham was for instant war without ever considering the means." In his last, and, as it proved, dying speech; he said: "With regard to our power to carry on the war (with America), or commence a new one with France, there were means, though he knew not what." Yet in the preceding May, when England resounded with the victories of the British troops over the insurgents, he ridiculed the idea of conquering America, and, replying to the ministerial boast of driving the Americans before the royal army, he made the well-known observation: "I might as well think of driving them before me with this crutch."

It was the intention of the Duke of Richmond to move the independence of America on Monday, the 29th of March, but in deference to the wishes of the friends of Lord Chatham, he postponed the motion till the 7th of April.

LORD CAMDEN TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

March 21*st*, 1778.

"I HAD no opportunity of seeing Lord Shelburne yesterday, else your Lordship would have heard from me. But this morning I have had discourse with him on the business your Lordship and the Duke of Richmond propose to bring on in the course of the next week, and he does wish, and most earnestly entreat your Lordship, that it may be postponed till Friday, as he expects and hopes Lord Chatham will be in town by that time. I confess I have the same wish as Lord Shelburne, and do join with him in begging this delay. If the business did really press, I would not desire to retard it, but in my own poor judgment it does not, and both think Lord Chatham should, in all events, be apprised of the motions. I have not seen the Duke of Grafton, but shall some time of the day, but by the conversation I have already had with him, I am persuaded he will be of our sentiments. Your Lordship will be pleased to recollect that last year the Duke of Grafton did forego a favourite motion of his own when your Lordship and others of your friends objected to it, and submitted to be overruled; and I should hope your Lordship would not upon a similar occasion refuse to postpone at least what we think is not of any real necessity in the present moment. The reason why I wish to wait for the Earl of Chatham is, that I see plainly the public does principally look up to him, and such is the opinion of the world as to his ability to advise, as well as execute, in this perilous crisis, that they will never be satisfied with any change or arrangement where he is not among the first."

On the same day that the above letter was written, Lord Chatham received an indirect invitation to form a Government, through the medium of Mr. Coutts, the banker.*

The events connected with the motion to which the foregoing letter relates, must be too familiar to the reader to require any detailed account here. The House of Lords being formed on the 7th of April into a committee on the state of the nation, the Duke of Richmond moved his Address to the throne. Before he began, Lord Chatham entered the house, leaning on the arms of his son William, and his son-in-law, Lord Mahon. He bowed with much courtesy to the peers, who, standing up out of respect, made a lane for him to pass to his seat. He wore a suit of rich black velvet, and very full wig. He was covered up to the knees in flannel. He looked pale and emaciated, but his eyes retained all their native fire. When the Duke sat down Lord Chatham rose to oppose the motion. He made a rhetorical speech, and declared that it was probably the last time he should ever be able to enter the walls of the House. The Duke of Richmond replied with much tenderness. Chatham again stood up, attempted to speak, and sank down in an apoplectic fit. He was removed to the residence of one of the officers of Parliament, was in a few days sufficiently recovered to bear the journey to his country seat, where he expired on the 11th of the following month.

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* Chatham Correspondence, vol. iv., p. 511.

In West's celebrated picture of Lord Chatham's seizure in the House of Lords, he is represented as being supported by his son-in-law, Lord Mahon. It was, however, the late Lord Fitzwilliam who caught him in his fall.

Lord Mahon,—I am now speaking of the noble historian,—Lord Mahon is of opinion that at the moment of the alleged abject message of the Whigs to Hayes "the King was more than ever incensed against Lord Chatham, from the high claims which the conversation with Lord Shelburne had disclosed." "With a spirit as high," continues his Lordship, "his Majesty protested that he would sooner surrender his crown than stoop to opposition." * The authority for this statement is not given, but it was a protestation that George the Third frequently made, and was yet compelled by circumstances to depart from. Thus we find that a few weeks later, his necessities constrained him once more to propose terms to the opposition.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

LONDON, *Friday night, twelve o'clock,*
May 29th, 1773.

"MY DEAR LORD,

Mr. Charles Fox who has this moment left me, has desired me to meet him at your house at Wimbledon, to-morrow at one o'clock, as he is anxious to communicate to you the purport of a conversation which he has had to day with Lord Weymouth (with whom he dined), and which he has permission to impart only to yourself, the Duke of Richmond, and me; the object of it is a new ministerial arrangement, in which, however, I cannot but remark, that the Treasury and the Great Seal are reserved by the King, the first in a great measure, if not wholly, for Lord Weymouth; and the last absolutely for Mr. Thurlow. As I shall have the pleasure of seeing you so soon, I shall not enter into other particulars, and besides, you will have them stated to you so much better by Charles Fox.

I am always with the most affectionate regard,
My dear Lord,
Your most faithful and obedient, &c.
PORTLAND."

Hist. of England, vol. vi. p. 341.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Goodwood, *Sunday morning,*
May 31*st*, 1778.

"My dear Lord,

From Lewes I will go straight to London, unless this business should detain me there, or in the country, but I hope to be in town before dinner on Tuesday. In the mean time, the following remarks occur to me on the subject of Mr. Fox's proposal.

First. And before any answer can be given, it is absolutely necessary to know *who the persons are* who have weight enough with his Majesty to bring about the plan proposed.

Secondly. I am of opinion that Mr. Fox's question, *Whether in the present situation of affairs* ANY *compromise ought to be made?* may be answered, *Yes.* I could have no objection to Lord Weymouth and Thurlow being in Administration in *some* employment, but the nature of their employment, the number and stations of others, the plan of measures to be pursued, and many other considerations, make it impossible for me to determine whether the present idea approaches to what might be consented to; but I am certainly not ready to say, that on no account any compromise can be made, and that every man now in Administration, their friends, and dependents, must go out.

Thirdly. I think it necessary to have in writing the full plan proposed, both as to men and to measures. It is impossible for me, knowing so little as I do, to say more at present. I am this moment setting out, but will be with you on Tuesday. I have not time to write this over again for Mr. Fox, but beg you will show it to him.

LORD JOHN CAVENDISH TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

BILLING, *Monday, June 1st*, (1778).

"I RECEIVED your letter last night: you have so established your character for sending for people lightly, that you must not be surprised if your summonses are not always readily obeyed. Your letter is so short, that I am not sure what is the subject on which you wish to see and talk with me: whether it relates to a Court negotiation, or an explanation towards a closer connexion and cordiality with some of our *allies*.* If it means the latter, I could say no more than I have done; that I am ready and desirous to act in concert with them, with the utmost openness and unreserve if you please, but I am strongly and clearly against dividing the bear's skin. If you mean the other thing, which I suppose, I know every transaction of that kind draws into such length, that there can be no real use in my coming up directly, which would be very inconvenient to me. . . . I own I do not think this a desirable time to our friends to have an offer: the mischief that has been done cannot be undone, but the effects are only now beginning to be felt, and unthinking people will be very apt to impute them to those whom they see in power at the time."

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* On the death of Lord Chatham, his friends recognised Lord Shelburne for their leader.

The funeral of Lord Chatham took place on the 9th of June. In compliance with an address from the Commons to the Crown, he was buried at the public expense, and a monument erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey. The Lord Mayor and Corporation of London petitioned the King to allow his remains to be deposited in the cathedral church of St. Paul's, but the application arrived too late. The Dukes of Richmond and Manchester, and Lord Rockingham, walked in the procession; the pall was supported by Savile, Dunning, Burke, and T. Townshend. The morning of the ceremony was very wet. In a letter from Lady Rockingham to her husband, she conjures "him to take great care of his health, lest a still more valuable life should be lost to the State."

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Burlington House.
Tuesday morning, June 9th, 1778.

"My dear Lord,

I feel no inducement to attend the ceremony of this morning, but the pleasure of meeting you; and that I must give up on account of some appointments upon private business, which are of considerable importance to my own affairs. Our situations appear to me so different, that though I hope I am not in the wrong for absenting myself from the funeral, I think you perfectly right in giving yourself that trouble, and if the City should seize the coffin and run away with it to St. Paul's, I think and almost hope you will let them carry you along with them. Notwithstanding this, however, Lord Camden might possibly not be much mistaken in considering Lord Chatham's death as a fortunate event, and that opinion is not much weakened by the satisfaction you express in the three conversations you mention in your letter of Sunday."

As the names of Chatham and Rockingham will not again come in juxtaposition in these pages, I would here call attention to Lord Mahon's opening paragraph to his fifth volume of the History of England.

"Chatham, but Chatham only at this time, like some lofty pine-tree in the forest, soars high above the undergrowth of Rockinghams, Hillsboroughs, &c."

The noble historian of England and the Editor of these Memoirs have been trained in two such different schools of politics, that they may be allowed to differ occasionally even in metaphors.

I must be permitted to observe that passing over for a moment my noble friend's botanical figure; the bracketing the names of men so utterly dissimilar as Rockingham and Hillsborough, appears a strange perversion of the right of parallel. It would have been as correct to have coupled together the respective partisans of Lords Chatham and Rockingham,—William Beckford and Edmund Burke. Rockingham was a Whig, Hillsborough a Tory. Rockingham was as remarkable for the mildness of his temper and the prudence of his conduct, as Hillsborough for his deficiency in both these qualities. Rockingham, by the repeal of the Stamp Act, in 1766, would have saved the American colonies if his policy had not been overthrown; Hillsborough, by his foolish circular letter of 1769, contributed towards their alienation from the parent State. Rockingham was distinguished by sound practical sense and much simplicity of demeanour. "Hillsborough," to borrow an expression of Walpole, "was a pompous composition of ignorance and want of judgment."

Lord Mahon compares Chatham to a lofty pine-tree: the danger of a metaphor is proverbial!

Now, leaving it to the learned in forest-trees to determine how far a lofty pine-tree possesses the property of "soaring" like a lark, it may be permitted to doubt whether the particular tree in question did, in fact, "soar" so high above "the undergrowth" as his Lordship represents; and also whether the "undergrowth" may not sometimes have been more profitable than the pine, which it is well-known, whilst it "soars" itself, allows no other tree to flourish under its shadow.

Let us, therefore, dropping the metaphor, proceed to ascertain the degree of superiority asserted of Lord Chatham over the Marquis of Rockingham. In respect to natural talents there can be no question of his superiority; but there may be considerable difference of opinion regarding the application of them to practical purposes.

Lord Chatham was haughty and inaccessible even to his Sovereign; he disdained all control, and despised any advice from his colleagues. "He lay on his back at Hayes' talking fustian"* when his country required his services, and only emerged into public life to embarrass all his associates. As a Minister, his policy was decidedly warlike. "The pomp and circumstance" of war coincided with his ostentatious character. The same spirit that dictated this policy, led him to quarrel with his best friends, and to reject measures of conciliation, even when the good of the country required them.

Lord Rockingham was thoroughly unostentatious in manners and habits, was kind and accessible to those about him. He treated the King with the respect due to his station, without forgetting his own dignity. He was ready to listen to the advice of his colleagues without compromising his own opinions, and he kept up both in and out of office, a friendly intercourse with his fellow-statesmen. A friend to peace, one of his first measures when in office was to heal the wounds of our Transatlantic possessions, and when he was driven from power, he was followed by the regrets of all our great commercial interests. Eminently practical in all his measures, without assuming the "Vultus multa et præclara minantes"—he carried out those great principles that Lord Chatham only enunciated.

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* Burke to Flood.

CHAPTER XIII.

RUPTURE WITH FRANCE.—LORD SANDWICH.—ADMIRAL KEPPEL AND SIR HUGH PALLISER.—COURT MARTIAL ON ADMIRAL KEPPEL.—HIS ACQUITTAL.—LETTERS OF BURKE AND FOX.—PALLISER RESIGNS HIS APPOINTMENTS.—CAPTAIN PAUL JONES.—CAPTAIN PEIRSON.—LETTER OF THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO ADMIRAL KEPPEL.

As soon as a rupture with France became inevitable, Admiral Keppel, on the personal solicitation of the King, was prevailed upon to accept the command of the Channel Fleet. The intimation that his services would be put in requisition was first made in 1776; but in the interval no notice was taken of him by the Court. As he afterwards observed, his "forty years endeavours were not marked by the possession of any one favour from the Crown except that of its confidence in time of danger." * His friends viewed, with great distrust, the ministerial offer of employment.

On the 19th of November, 1776, his cousin the Duke of Richmond, who loved him with the affection of a brother, thus prophetically addressed him:—"My dearest Admiral, I cannot wish you joy of having a

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* Keppel's defence on his Court-Martial.

fleet to command prepared by the Earl of Sandwich, with new men and officers unacquainted with each other, to risk your reputation, and the fate of your country upon. At the same time, I do not see how you could refuse your services. No man can be surprised that you should suspect a Minister, whom you have constantly opposed, of not giving you all the help he might do to a friend. If he has a bad fleet to send out, 'tis doing Lord Sandwich no injustice to suppose he would be glad to put it under the command of a man whom he does not love, and yet whose name will justify the choice to the nation. . . . . I would determine not to trust Lord Sandwich for a piece of rope-yarn."*

Subsequent events proved that these suspicions were well founded.

In reply to the Duke of Richmond about a fortnight after he wrote the above letter, Lord Sandwich declared, that we had forty-five ships of the line ready, and that we could before the end of the year send ninety ships of battle to sea. On the 20th of the following March, Admiral Keppel went to Portsmouth, and hoisted his flag on board the "Prince George," but instead of the fleet he had been led to expect, he found only "six line-of-battle ships" fit for service, a great scarcity of sailors, a total deficiency of stores, and this to meet a French fleet of thirty-two sail of the line. At length, on the 7th of July, he stood out to sea with twenty-four line-of-battle ships, and was shortly afterwards reinforced by six more. These ships he threw into three divisions, the van being commanded by Vice-

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* Keppel's Life of Lord Keppel, vol. ii. p. 3.

Admiral Sir Robert Harland, the centre by himself, and the rear by Sir Hugh Palliser, one of the Lords of the Admiralty. On the 23rd he first fell in with the French fleet, but it was not till the 27th that he succeeded in bringing them to action. In accordance with the established mode of fighting in those days, the two fleets encountered each other on opposite tacks, pouring in their broadsides as they passed. When Keppel had repaired the damages incident to this encounter, he made the signal to renew the action. The order was immediately responded to by Sir Robert Harland, but disobeyed by Sir Hugh Palliser, although a variety of signals were made to him from three in the afternoon to eight in the evening. In the night the French made for their own coast, and at daybreak the rearmost ships of the enemy were not discernible from the mast-heads of our vessels. This abandonment by Palliser of his superior officer was not supposed to proceed from any want of courage, but rather, as Walpole expresses it, "from *Mindenian* finesse, and that by order of the Trident-bearer."

Some time after the action a letter appeared in the public prints, commenting on the indecisive nature of Keppel's engagement, and throwing the blame on Sir Hugh Palliser. That officer called upon his superior to justify his character. On Keppel's refusal, Palliser exhibited five capital charges against him, and the Admiralty appointed the 9th of January, 1779, for his trial. The alacrity with which the Board of Admiralty acceded to the appointment of a Court-Martial, filled the Navy with disgust. A strong memorial, signed by twelve admirals, with the name of Keppel's old commander, Lord Hawke, at their head, was presented by Admiral the Duke of Bolton* to the King. In this document they remark on the impropriety of the Board of Admiralty sanctioning charges made by "their colleague in office" against his commander. They declare that it will not be easy for men attentive to their honour to serve his Majesty, particularly in situations of principal command, if such a practice be countenanced.

Among Lord Rockingham's papers is the rough draft of a letter evidently having reference to this memorial.

> "—— were anxious to have it (the Memorial) presented to his Majesty *to-morrow*, but I could by no means without a previous communication, or without the previous assent of Lord Hawke.
>
> I must say, the Duke of Richmond as well as myself do think, the paper is most *respectably* signed. Whatever construction, ill-designing, malicious persons may put upon the paper, yet, I trust, that both the public at large, and more particularly *all* of the profession of the Navy, will think and will feel themselves infinitely obliged to those admirals, who have so fully and so nobly stated their opinions on a matter in which the protection of the honour and happiness of England is so deeply interested."

In consequence of Keppel's ill-health, his friend

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* Harry Powlett, Duke of Bolton, succeeded his brother in 1717. He is the "Captain Whiffle" in Smollett's "Roderick Random."

Admiral Pigot brought in a Bill to enable the Admiralty to hold the Court-Martial on shore. The Bill passed the Commons without opposition. It was moved in the House of Lords by the Duke of Bolton. The Lord Chancellor, "rugged Thurlow," tried to throw out the Bill in another stage, on the plea that the ill-health of Keppel was not proved, but his objection was overruled.

Lord Rockingham having requested Lord Camden to support the Bill, received the following reply:

LORD CAMDEN TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

November 18*th*, 1778.

"My dear Lord,

I did not intend to come to London any more till after the recess, as my sick family here engrosses all my attention, but my real esteem, and high opinion of Admiral Keppel determined me, in a moment, to obey your Lordship's summons; for I would not be wanting to bear my testimony, though, at the same time, if the Court are disposed to fling out the Bill, my appearance will only add one to the minority. In truth, my dear Lord, we are beating the air, and our constant defeats have so hardened the Ministry, that they have lost all feeling of reproach. Something else must be done, for parliamentary opposition is worn out."

As the Board of Admiralty persisted in their determination to bring Keppel to a Court-Martial, the Whigs agreed to make the place of his trial a general rendezvous of their party. Accordingly, soon after he had placed himself in the custody of the Provost-Marshal, at Portsmouth, he was either accompanied or joined by their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester; the Dukes of Portland, Richmond, and Bolton; the Marquises of Rockingham and Granby; the Earl of Effingham; Sir George Savile; Messrs. Fox, Burke, Sheridan, &c., and a large body of the naval profession, and a host of admiring private friends.

To understand the allusions in the following letter from Lady Charlotte Wentworth to her brother Lord Rockingham, it should be premised that the Admiral was known amongst the sailors as "Little Keppel,"* and that he was generally so indifferent an orator, as to be obliged to read his speeches, but that during this period of excitement he spoke, as General Fitzpatrick said, "as an inspired man."

LADY C. WENTWORTH TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

December 30*th*, 1778.

"LORD JOHN CAVENDISH is the best Lord John that ever was, or ever will be: he came over here this morning, and has made us exceedingly happy, by the satisfactory intelligence he brings us of you and your Admiral. As to the latter he declares he has grown at least one inch in stature, and very little less eloquent than Mr. Burke; and that so many pleasing circumstances attend this attack upon him, it is far from being a matter to be lamented. We rejoice with you that the public does him justice."

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* Lord Howe was called "Black Dick." Colonel Barré declared in the House of Commons, that if Little Keppel or Black Dick were to command jointly or severally, such was the confidence, affection, and estimation those officers were held in by the whole body of the British seamen, that a press upon such an occasion would be rendered in a great manner unnecessary. No two men could present a greater contrast in personal appearance. Keppel's countenance was as indicative of high spirits as Howe's was of melancholy. "I think," said a sailor on one occasion, of Lord Howe, "I think we shall have a brush with the enemy this morning, for Black Dick was seen to smile."

The following letter, without date, was apparently written about the same time as the foregoing.

THE EARL OF ABINGDON TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"I WISH your Lordship a safe journey to Portsmouth, where I flatter myself you will meet your much attached friend the brave Admiral Keppel in sound health. The receiving orders from a rascally Lord of the Admiralty, is a blot in his scutcheon."

During Keppel's engagement, much damage was sustained on board the "Formidable," Sir Hugh Palliser's flag-ship, by the explosion of cartridges, and considerable disorder had, in consequence, prevailed. As Palliser had founded his charges against his commanding officer upon observations assumed to have been made from his own ship, Keppel's friend and comrade, Augustus Hervey, who recently had become Earl of Bristol, wrote to Lord Rockingham as follows:—

THE EARL OF BRISTOL TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"MY DEAR LORD, *Wednesday night late.*

A very safe hand going to Portsmouth to-morrow, I send this by him, to intreat your Lordship to deliver this to Keppel, as, perhaps, it may be of use to him, to show the great confusion that was in the 'Formidable,' at the time of the action, so that one cannot suppose, any *one* would have had much time then to make observation of the rest of the fleet. Pembroke this morning gave me a good account of all things in Portsmouth, and I think *here* the spirit is pretty well kept for our friend. There is no news, and I hope there is none for me to assure your Lordship how truly I am,

Your most obedient and most faithful servant,

BRISTOL."

"I have hardly time to finish this."

Keppel went to Portsmouth, on the 2nd of January, 1779. At nine o'clock, on the morning of the 7th, Sir Thomas Pye, President of the Court-Martial, hoisted his flag on board the "Britannia." The signal was then made for a Court-Martial by hoisting the Union Jack on the larboard mizen-shrouds. The Royal Standard was, at the same time, displayed from the starboard mizen-shroud, in token that an admiral was to be tried; at ten o'clock a gun was fired, and the Union Jack hoisted at the fore-topmast head, as a signal for all admirals and captains to repair on board. The harbour now presented a most lively appearance, barges were to be seen in all directions, conveying the different officers whose attendance was required at the Court-Martial on board the "Britannia." Keppel and Palliser quitted the shore about the same time: thirty barges filled with sailors accompanied the boat of the prisoner, while only four attended that of his accuser. As soon as the members were sworn, the Court adjourned to the Governor's house. An immense multitude, consisting principally of sailors, greeted the Admiral with loud and reiterated cheers on his return to the town.

From the very commencement of the trial it became evident, that nothing but a full and honourable acquittal awaited Admiral Keppel. But so intoxicated were the Duke of Richmond and Lord Rockingham with the honours daily paid to their friend, the prisoner, that they were unable to tear themselves away from Portsmouth. Their presence, however, had now become necessary in London; for Lord Bristol and Mr. Fox were about to bring the conduct of Lord Sandwich towards Keppel under the consideration of their respective Houses.

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"THE victory of Admiral Keppel over the repeated villanies of his antagonists, being now beyond all doubts, I hope in a few days the Admiral will receive general and sincere congratulations from all his friends. In the meantime, your Lordship and the Duke of Richmond must give me leave to observe that your presence in London begins to be much wanted. Yesterday the Duke of Bolton called upon me, and told me Lord Bristol was prepared with his articles of inquiry, and wished you were in town. I saw likewise, Lord Shelburne, who had a conversation with the Duke of Grafton; he is ready to attend any business. Lord Shelburne proposed that *an Act of Parliament should pass to hold the Parliament on board ship*, unless your Lordship and friends will revisit us."

The following letter was written soon after Keppel's trial:

MR. EDMUND BURKE TO MR. BURROWS.

1779.

"I MUST regret to Mr. Burrows my not seeing him again, *according* to his *promise* of giving me a call. I think I was just returned from Admiral Keppel's trial, when you stopped my chair by Berkeley Square. A visit, therefore, from a pious friend must have been particularly seasonable at such a time; a return in great *triumph* and great *happiness* being a dangerous situation for the mind to find itself in after a painful solicitude. Yet I don't think I should have had any Portsmouth sins to confess, for throughout the whole of that interesting event, I can reflect with much Christian comfort. I went to that place (assuredly) in an agony of mind at so strange a thing as a Court-Martial so strangely appointed upon so meritorious and beloved a friend, but I went in resignation and the fullest trust in the Almighty defence of the innocent."

The above letter contains the germs of those thoughts upon the character of Admiral Keppel which were afterwards so beautifully expressed in the writer's celebrated "Letter to a noble Lord."

I have already alluded to the want of discipline which Charles Fox evinced while a subaltern in the Tory ranks, and how little even the ties of office availed to bind him to his parliamentary chief. When once, however, he attached himself to the Whig party, and became rather a colleague than a follower of its leader, he appears to have become so convinced of the prudence, good sense, and integrity of Lord Rockingham, that he cautiously avoided any public act that should indicate difference of opinion between them. That their sentiments were not always coincident will be seen by the extracts from the two letters which follow.

HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

EUSTON, *November* 18*th*, 1778

"BELIEVE me, my dear Lord, though I certainly disapprove of some things which you have done, and of many more which you have left undone, yet there is no man in this country who wishes more heartily to agree with you in everything, or is more convinced that the salvation of this country must ultimately depend upon you and your friends"

HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"My dear Lord, *January 24th,* 1779.

It would be needless in me to remind you of the many conversations that have passed between us last summer and the beginning of the winter, upon the subject of a proposition which I was desired to make to you and others.

You know how widely we differed in opinion upon that matter, and I am sorry to say that it happened upon this occasion, as upon such occasions is too usual, that the more we discussed the subject, and the more we disputed upon it, the more we became attached to our original opinions. What you considered as a step of the most dangerous tendency to the Whig party, I looked upon as a most fortunate opportunity for restoring it to that power and influence which I wish it to have as earnestly as you can do. The very circumstances which you thought likely to render the proposed arrangement weak, I considered as means of strength and stability. Because it has always been, and I believe always will be, my opinion that power (whether over a people or a King) obtained by gentle means, by the good will of the person to be governed, and, above all, by degrees, rather than by a sudden exertion of strength, is in its nature more durable and firm, than any advantage that can be gained by contrary means. I do not say all this in hopes of convincing you, but only in my own justification for entertaining sentiments so opposite to those of the person in the world I most respect. In short, our difference of opinion is complete. You think you can best serve the country by continuing in a fruitless opposition; I think it impossible to serve it at all, but by coming into power, and go even so far as to think that it is hardly reconcileable to the duty of a public man to refuse it, if offered to him in a manner consistent with his private honour, and so as to enable him to form fair hopes of doing essential service. I know there are some people, and perhaps you may be one, who will say that these opinions are the consequences of my particular situation, or, at best, that I am warped towards them by that situation. All I can say is, that I have done all I could do to examine my heart upon that question, and do not feel myself at all doubtful upon it. That I have the most extreme eagerness for your friends coming into office is true, because I think their coming in essentially necessary to the making the best possible system, and because I am convinced that if this opportunity is missed, another may not offer; but that I am not myself personally over-eager to accept office, I believe I could easily enough prove, if I were so inclined. But I do beg of you, my dear Lord, to consider how very impracticable it is either for me or many other parts of opposition, to go on together upon the ideas upon which you maintain your refusal. For is it or is it not a fair and open declaration that you will never have anything to do with any Ministry, that is *not entirely* of your own framing? and do you not in some instances rest your refusal upon grounds to which we are so far from pledged that we are in some instances pledged directly on the contrary side? I do not mention this as matter of reproach, but only to show you how very impossible it is for anybody who is not *one of you* to enter into your ideas and objects of opposition. I I dare say you do not think me weak enough to so think it possible for me to shake by any arguments I can bring, systems long since adopted, and in which you are confirmed by the concurrent opinions of persons who have or ought to have ten thousand times more weight with you than I can pretend to. All that I desire is that you will give me explicit answers to two questions, and this I think I have a right to from the very open conduct which I have always held towards you. The first of these questions is, whether you persist in the opinion you had of rejecting, if again proposed, the offer formerly made. By rejecting, I mean rejecting in the manner in which you then rejected it, because if you thought it upon the whole a tolerable basis for an arrangement, you would state particular difficulties and objections which might be discussed, and possibly removed. If you should persist in rejecting all offers of this sort, my next question is, supposing an Administration should be formed partly of those who now act in opposition, and partly of the present people (always understanding the most exceptionable to be removed, particularly North, Sandwich, and Germaine), whether you would give such a Ministry any countenance whatever. By *countenance*, I mean whether any of your friends would take employments with such a

Ministry, if they were such as were suitable to them in other respects, and the men with whom they were to act such as they could have no other objection to than that of coming in contrary to your opinion. Perhaps I presume too much upon the confidence in which we have lived for some time past, in asking this second question, which may be thought to be rather of a delicate nature. All I can say is that I will give you my word of honour not to make any rash or improper use of any answer you may make me. If you decline answering it, I shall not complain, but it is a necessary one for me to ask. I am afraid I have been very tiresome to you upon this subject, but I could not answer to myself the not putting to you two questions, the answers to which I think very essential in regulating my future conduct. If you can send your answer by Lord Fitzwilliam, who will give you this, I shall be obliged to you, though there is nothing that presses very much; for I can assure you the hypothesis I have stated is merely an hypothesis: but the sooner I can have your answer the more I shall be obliged to you. I will trouble you no more upon this subject, but surely if ever there was a crisis where a country demanded all the efforts of its best men, it is the present, and surely some blame must lie at the doors of those who from mistrust and suspicion deprive it of the best assistance it can have.

Pray make my kindest compliments to Admiral Keppel and the Duke of Richmond; we look upon the Court-Martial to be the same as over, and heartily wish it was literally so, &c., &c.

C. J. FOX."

Early in March Keppel threw up his command. His resignation was immediately followed by those of Sir Robert Harland, Sir John Lindsay, Captain Leveson Gower, and other officers of distinction. The Channel Fleet, for some time, went begging; at last it was accepted by Sir Charles Hardy, once a distinguished officer, but now incapacited by infirmities for such a post; indeed he died in command, the following year. Towards the close of the Session in June, Lord North announced that the Spanish ambassador had demanded his passports. The next month the Spanish fleet formed a junction with the French, and entered the British Channel. Admiral Keppel states that the intentions of Spain towards England were well known by the Government in the month of March, and that we were not in a condition to oppose D'Orvilliers "even so late as the 4th of June, when he sailed to join the Spaniards."[*]

MR. EDMUND BURKE TO MR. LEE.

"MY DEAR LEE, CHARLES STREET, *July 26th*, 1779.

Nothing can equal the composure with which we expect our fate in this town. The French have joined with the Ferrol Squadron, which, with the reinforcement from Rochfort and the Mediterranean, I have great reason to be assured is now fifty ships of the line. The

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[*] "Keppel on the mismanagement of the Navy," from a document in the Fitzwilliam collection, published by my brother in his Life of the Admiral, vol. ii., p. 335.

Cadiz squadron is thirty; but they have not yet joined; nor do we know for certain that the united Brest and Ferrol fleets are yet come towards the Channel. Sir Charles Hardy, with five or six-and-thirty ships of the line, is cruising between the Lizard and Scilly. I believe his chief view is to look to the trade coming home. He has not hitherto ventured far from our own coasts. It is reported that Mulgrave has written to Lord Sandwich that their commander will not do; and that in consequence of this, and some other representations, they have been tampering with Lord Howe. If the Cadiz squadron should join, they will be eighty ships of the line, the greatest force ever got together, considering the force of the ships individually. People hope much, however, from the ignorance of the Spaniards and the confusion and jealousy of different nations acting together. Yesterday there was a strong report that the Cadiz fleet was seen going into the Mediterranean. That would be fortunate for us indeed! But I fear that Ireland, or the West Indies, are their objects. It does not seem as if they attended so much to the homeward-bound fleets. How do your people feel in the North?

* * * *

EDMUND BURKE."

. . . . "This day's report (and believed) is that the fleets are very near each other; and that ten of the Cadiz squadron block up Gibraltar."

On his return to town Keppel received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament, and his accuser, Sir Hugh Palliser, threw up all his appointments; a step that defeated a motion Fox was about to make for his removal from them. He also accepted the "Chiltern Hundreds," and demanded a Court-Martial. Admiral Keppel declined to be his accuser, and the Duke of Richmond, on the 13th of March, censured the Court-Martial as defective in form, substance, and mode of proceeding.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER.

GROSVENOR SQUARE.
Monday evening, nine o'clock, March 29th, 1779.

"DEAR DUKE OF MANCHESTER,

I received your Grace's letter just as I was got to dinner. I had been at the House of Lords to see whether any papers had been delivered relative to the proceedings in regard to the Court-Martial on Sir Hugh Palliser, according to our motion. No papers, &c., have *as yet* been laid; *if none* are laid to-morrow previous to the commencement of business, I think *some notice* must be taken of the neglect: and the more so, because it is in fact very important that such steps should be taken previous to the adjournment, so that that Court-Martial should not be a mere mock trial. I am exceeding glad that your Grace has apprised Lord Bristol, and the Duke of Grafton and Lord Shelburne, of your intention (I mean beside your original motion) of also bringing up a debate relative to Minorca; *I feel* that there is a good deal of *difficulty* in *drawing up a proper motion* on that point in the present *strange* circumstances of this country respectively to Spain. If *France alone* was *all* we had to look to, the question would be reduced to this short issue—Have we, or have we not a *sufficiency* of fleet—to send a strong squadron more than a balance to a *Toulon squadron,* to cover and protect Minorca? And *have* we also a sufficiency of fleet to be at sea, to block up or prevent a force from *Brest* going to support the operations against Minorca, if the attack upon Minorca is the immediate object of the French policy. I well know what your Grace's answer would be; *namely,* that if France *alone* at this moment *declared most publicly* that they would attack Minorca, it would be *almost* an impossibility for us to prevent it by any *exertion* of our present maritime force. I am very far from having any objection (to) stating that *Minorca* is in the utmost danger, especially if thrown out as topics in debate; but I think too deep and too accurate an investigation of that subject would lead us into opening a state of our weakness, which might, with some fairness, be deemed reprehensible. I am not sure whether, in the present moment, it would be advisable to force Spain to a *positive declaration* one way or another. I am indeed *very full of suspicions* in regard to that court, but I am sure *hitherto their indecision* has not been prejudicial to this country in point of fact. As we shall all meet in the House of Lords to-morrow, we may steal a moment to think and agree about the *wording* of any motion on the subject of Minorca. I think what your Grace has sketched out is well guarded in the *wording;* my only doubt is that it may investigate too much.

Ever, my dear Lord,
Your Grace's
Most obedient and most affectionate, &c.,
ROCKINGHAM."

The appearance of the French and Spanish Fleets off Plymouth had spread an universal alarm, and the panic was not a little increased by a royal proclamation which commanded all horses and cattle to be driven from the coast. While the appearance of the combined fleets in the Channel produced these very natural results along the Western coast of England, an adventurer, with a single ship, caused an almost equal consternation in the North. I mean Paul Jones. This celebrated renegade, a native of Galloway, in Scotland, was a short thick-set little man, with coarse features and swarthy complexion, of a harsh irritable temper, but of a mind singularly sagacious and daring. From his earlier years the future corsair had shown a great predilection for a sailor's life. He has been described "as launching, while a mere child, his mimic ship, hoisting his flag, and issuing his mandates to his imaginary crew with all the firmness and dignity of one born to lead and command his fellows."* He went to sea at the age of twelve years. In some part of his career he was engaged in the slave-trade, but soon quitted it in disgust. In 1773 he settled down in Virginia. Like many other Englishmen, Jones offered his services to the Congress against his native country, on the breaking out of the war. He was appointed lieutenant of the "Alfred," and used to boast that "he had the honour to hoist, with his own hand, the flag of freedom the first time it was displayed on the Delaware." In 1777, he had a roving commission in a ship called the "Ranger;" the next year he made a descent at Whitehaven, in Scotland, set fire to the shipping, took two forts and thirty pieces of cannon; and, on the 23rd of September, 1779, captured the "Serapis," a British man-of-war of forty-two guns, after one of the most bloody and desperate engagements mentioned in naval annals. Both commanders were rewarded by their respective friends and employers; Jones, for capturing a British frigate, was invested with the military order of merit by the King of France, and presented with a sword bearing the inscription: "Vindicati maris Ludovicus XVI. remuneratur strenuo vindici." While the brave Captain Peirson, for having saved a convoy worth upwards of 600,000*l*., was rewarded by Knighthood, the Lieutenant-Governorship of Greenwich Hospital, the freedom of several Corporations, and large donations of plate.

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* Sherborne's History of Admiral Paul Jones.

The effect produced on shore, by the appearance of Jones on the Northern coast, will be understood by the following letter:—

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE MARCHIONESS OF ROCKINGHAM.

September 23rd, 1779.

"I GOT here very well between ten and eleven on Thursday night. The town, I found, had been and continued much alarmed. They had sent off Mr. Hammond and Mr. Pool express to London that evening, particularly to request that the Admiralty would send ships, and the Board of Ordnance would send 2000 stand of arms, muskets and bayonets.

Yesterday morning the alarms continued, but Paul Jones and his squadron being out of sight from the mouth of the Humber, and information coming that the Baltic fleet had been seen off Burlington under convoy of the Serapis, a 40-gun, and the Countess of Scarborough, a 20-gun, great hopes were indulged by some that the Serapis *alone* would beat Paul Jones, &c.

In this state we met at the Town Hall. I took the lead of course. I made then an *omnium gatherum* speech, *rather confused*, but my chief object was to persuade them that Government had *neglected* them, and perhaps that they themselves had been too *flattering* and too *courtly* in their late addresses, &c. I stated to them that it was clear any danger from Paul Jones's landing any great number of men was scarce possible, because I could not conceive that he had ship-room for them; but *that it was very possible* and very practicable for him to come up the Humber and lay off the town, and that no trust could be placed in the cannon in the fort here, as they were in so worn out and bad situation.

It was agreed that the cannons, &c., were very bad, but though I pressed them to try to get what ship-guns they had here, and mount them on batteries, and though one gentleman offered to raise a small battery, the meeting, in general, were not inclined at *that time of the day*. It was said, it must not be done without *consent of Government*.

I had wished, in 1759, to have had a fort built, or some cannon placed in a battery, either under Pauls or Marlplitt, and at last I told them that I would myself *treat the town* with a battery of six or eight 18-pounders, at one of those places, and would send to Government *for leave*. This seemed to please many. I also pressed that we should send an express to Government to desire that cannon might be furnished, and particularly that some cannon from Walker's forge, which were here in a ship, might be immediately mounted on carriages and placed in batteries, so as to molest any enemy that attempted to come up the Humber. I also wished them to desire Government send immediately an *able Navy* officer, or, at least, to give more authority to an active sea-officer here, Captain O'Hara. After all, we separated in the morning without much being done.

The case altered much in the evening. Accounts came that the Serapis and Scarborough were engaged with Paul Jones. The first report, a *vague one*, was that Paul Jones was taken, but in the evening came an account that, after a warm engagement, the Serapis and Countess of Scarborough were both taken.

The Mayor, &c., immediately sent to desire that I would meet them at the Town Hall. We soon got together, and then we began at once to proceed, I hope, very right. I then found no difficulties. We quickly determined to take the twenty 18-pounders of Walker's out of the ship. They had *no carriages,* but we soon found men to engage to make what will answer the purposes by nine o'clock to-night. We fixed upon two places for batteries. One of them will probably be ready *to-night,* as it is an old work, where seven cannon have heretofore been mounted. The other as soon as it can be. I am very well—quite alert—up at night. I trust that I shall hear that you are very well. Don't fidget yourself. I can't say whether I can get away to-morrow, or Monday, or on what day. Perhaps Paul Jones will *go off* with his prizes—*two English ships of war!*

Send me two boys, as I shall want one to send to London. Captain Buck writes to Lord Effingham, probably he will come to you; to him you will communicate the contents of this letter. I can hardly say whether it is worth while that he should trouble himself to come, but his coming would be liked, though I rather think we shall not have much flurry.

Ever and affectionately yours,

ROCKINGHAM."

HULL, *Saturday, half-past ten o'clock.*

"I REALLY think Mr. Hall might be useful here; therefore, my compliments, and desire he will come directly. Let Brown make a copy of the anecdotes in this letter, as I may want to have it when I write to Government."

The following undated letter was evidently written before the meeting of Parliament in November, 1779. It will be found to contain a masterly review of the public events of that disastrous year.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO ADMIRAL HONOURABLE AUGUSTUS KEPPEL.

(*November*, 1779.)

"MY DEAR KEPPEL,

You must have been out of all patience with me for having been so long without writing to you. I could urge many things in my own behalf, but I think the most material article is, that I had nothing of any consequence to communicate to you, and I could only have earlier done what I now do, which is, only setting about to write to you many speculations and opinions, none of which are very comfortable, or likely to produce much good effect.

* * * *

Circumstanced as the state of this country is, and a Cabinet and system composed as that is, which his Majesty seems *determined to support*, I cannot conceive that the Duke of Grafton can have the least idea of being either a coadjutor, or to be anything mixed and concerned with them. I imagine that the Duke of Grafton and Charles Fox (who seemed to have given some credit to the sort of information they had received, in regard to his Majesty's having an intention of making a real change of *men* and *measures*, and in consequence of it intending to *open a negotiation* with me,) must now see either that the insinuation was to serve some purpose of creating jealousies *somewhere*, or that it is a full proof how very little those who told them so really knew or can dive into the intentions of his Majesty.

If the least hint or overture had come to me, you may be certain you should have known it, and I only mention that nothing has, lest the Duke of Grafton or Charles Fox should have had any *such information*, or had formed such an idea, as I know that they sometimes think, that I am apt to push off openings, rather than to encourage and coax them, so as that they might ripen into something which might do.

I feel, indeed, the miserable state of this country. I think the difficulties of any good being to be done are increased beyond measure. Bad and even almost desperate as the affairs of this country were last spring, think only how the events since must operate.

An opportunity of treating *direct* with *America* was rejected. An opportunity of some general pacification (not very pleasant indeed), *through Spain* as *mediator*, was abandoned. Spain's hesitating councils decide to commence war. In our own seas, *we have seen*, and Europe is now fully satisfied, that the fleets united of

France and Spain are superior, *at least in numbers*, and can ride insultingly and *unmolested* even off our ports and within our channel.

In the West Indies, the superiority of the French fleet *alone* is proved by the most lamentable events and facts.

In *America*, at *sea*, our inferiority is too well known, and, perhaps, at this moment it is doubtful whether the British armies and forces *exist on shore* in any other state than that of captives, or perhaps *treating* for honourable terms of surrender.

The accursed proclamation of the Commissioners,* and the barbarities which have ensued, have so fatally added to the indignation and resentment of America, that nothing but ample revenge and retaliation will now probably prevail in the minds of the Americans. Should destiny, in conjunction with Washington and the Americans, extirpate our force *on the continent* of America, what must be the consequence next spring, when America, *internally* not called upon for exertions, shall make her efforts, *in conjunction with d'Estaing*, in those islands in the West Indies which as yet remain ours? *Innumerable Paul Joneses* may be on our home coasts, alarming at least, if not inflicting heavy calamities.

I don't think that anything I have stated is much exaggerated; sufficient, indeed, they are to show how much worse the affairs of this country are now to what they were even last spring; and yet all I have stated is but, as it were, heads or points, which, on fuller discussion, would only make it appear that each of them, almost alone, would so add to the difficulties and distresses of this country, as to make its utter ruin probably inevitable.

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* The British Commissioners in America published a manifesto, on the 3rd of October, 1778, declaring that as the Colonies had shown the intention of mortgaging their resources to an inveterate enemy, the question would be "how far Great Britain might destroy or render useless a connexion contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandisement of France."

The wealth of this country is exhausted, its resources are sinking apace, and its credit, which heretofore arose from the *confidence* of Europe in *its strength*, must and will be nearly, if not entirely, annihilated by its *apparent weakness*. I am much afraid that Russia, Holland, and Denmark will not risk themselves in the *peril and burthen* of undertaking our defence, and yet I think that they are the only, or at least the most important quarters, from whence we can receive any aid towards regaining the superiority at *sea*.

To rely upon the strength of our own Navy alone, even if conducted by the best and ablest men, (which chance, nevertheless, is among the forbidden benefits which this country might have,) would be an undertaking which nothing but the desperate situation of this country could in any degree justify. In every view of the state of this country, as considered in respect to its external state having become worse and worse, I wish I could see, by way of balance, that it was in any degree become better in respect to its external state. Perhaps the only favourable alteration is, that the country at large is really becoming more and more dissatisfied with *his Majesty's Ministers* and with *his Majesty's measures,* and that they feel, and therefore see, their near approaching ruin. I still think, that they are not, even as yet, quite ready to *acknowledge that those* who so early advised them, and who have so long and so earnestly pressed them, to abandon folly and to listen to reason, have much, or are entitled to *much merit.*

Perhaps a total change of *men, measures,* and *system* in the Government of this country might have effect on the councils of some foreign countries not disinclined to be our friend, and might also operate on France and Spain, who might imagine wiser councils, at least, would be exerted against them, and who might think that it was no longer a Court system to combat, but that the nation would unite and make the utmost efforts.

Some degree of hope might also arise, that even America, cruelly and wickedly as she has been treated, might become calm and cool enough to weigh, *whether,* in good policy, for *herself,* as *an independent State,* the annihilation of England, as a great European power, was advisable. I may have tired you with these vague speculations, but you may as well read them as hear them detailed in long conversations, when we meet.

I conceive, when Parliament meets, men's minds will be much agitated; the shuffling sort of arrangements which have or are to be carried into execution, will by no means add power, strength, or confidence to or in his Majesty's Ministers and his Majesty's measures. I incline to believe they will give general disgust.

What a new dilemma and difficulty is brought upon this country by the flame which has burst out in Ireland, a requisition—a demand for free trade—by both Houses of Parliament in Ireland, with reciprocal declarations of friendship and union between them and the armed associations. I confess I believe the abrupt and bluff mode of proceeding will obtain for Ireland something essential with much more facility than a more measured conduct would have done. It seems, in these manufacturing parts, that it is at once acknowledged that the *demand must* be granted, at least in a great degree. Some cry alas! and lament that the state of this country is such as makes it unable to help itself.

I don't know what are the general ideas of this country on this event; I don't know what are the ideas in London, and among the generality of our friends. The proposition from Ireland is of such magnitude and extent, that I am sure it requires much consideration and much information and insight into its probable consequences, before an honourable man could decide what to do, and how to do it. I am somewhat glad that I intruded myself into his *Majesty's* closet and presence, upon the business of Ireland, last Session; I am tolerably well content, too, with what I moved and what I said on different days in the House of Lords on that business. I hope our friends will not be in a hurry to give advice and opinions to any of his Majesty's Ministers, nor at once be starting propositions in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons on the subject of Irish affairs.

I have been and am much hurried with variety of business, and what is worse, it will increase rather than decrease before I set out for London; I shall, nevertheless, contrive to be in London about a week before Parliament meets, which probably will be as early as any of our considerable friends *would* come. I hope the Duke of Richmond will be in town early. We are very glad that the first account we heard of poor good Lady Albemarle's being ill was brought by your letter, which at the same time informed us how well she was again, and how good her spirits were.

I hope you had the satisfaction of finding Lady Albemarle full as well and even better than you expected. I suppose you are now in London, as one of your letters said you (were)."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE YORKSHIRE MEETING.—PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.—LETTER OF COWPER TO UNWIN.—THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM ON PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.—LETTER OF SIR C. WRAY TO SIR J. NORCLIFFE.—LETTERS OF THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE REV. H. ZOUCH AND MR. CROFFTS.—THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM.—THE DUKE OF PORTLAND ON PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

THE following extracts arranged in chronological order relate to a very important crisis in the reign of George the Third—the Yorkshire Meeting, in 1780. During the latter years of this monarch's predecessor and the earlier portion of his reign, the people of England had looked almost passively upon the measures of Government. As a nation the English are not easily aroused: but when once enkindled their heat is steady, fierce and difficult to slacken. In the last century political intelligence circulated slowly. The people had but few leaders, and these for the most part, were either high-born, or opulent men, who would not readily connect themselves with popular movements, much less commence them.—The use of Petitions had nearly fallen into abeyance in all but simply local matters. Committees or associations of political discussion for redress of grievances were carried with jealousy and repugnance, as will appear from some of the following letters. From this apathy, however, England was awakened by the state of the nation, the palpable aggressions and systematic duplicity of the Crown and its advisers, and the vacillation of its representatives in Parliament. The people began and had reason to ask with the Israelitish king, "Who is on our side?"—an expensive war, an increasing debt, a suspension of employment in the manufacturing districts, augmentation of rates for the relief of the unemployed, were symptoms of decline, which none could mistake, since they came home to every man. Nor could the gathering ills of the time be attributed to any but the right cause—the arbitrary policy of the King and his "friends." At such a crisis it was natural that projects for redress should sometimes assume a theoretical rather than a practical shape; that in fact, general nostrums, instead of particular and efficient remedies, should have been liberally recommended. Men who are suddenly awakened are apt to bestir themselves with more haste than speed, with more energy than decision; and accordingly we find, in the subjoined correspondence, sundry extravagant and impracticable theories of Parliamentary Reform, equally unsuited to the age and the immediate crisis. It was proposed, for example, to sweep away the "Rotten Boroughs," to add to the number of County Members, to pass at once from septennial to annual Parliaments; in short, to antedate by half a century, more than the Reform Bill of our own generation conferred upon the people of England. It was fortunate that at such a crisis, counsellors like the Marquis of Rockingham and Sir George Savile, stood forward to moderate this ill-directed zeal. It was equally fortunate that the nation generally was content to abide by their advice. For of all the implements of despotism none is more available than the failure of unseasonable reforms. Premature attempts to enlarge the franchise, or to purify the sources of election, alarm the neutral, encourage the corrupt, and dishearten the earnest. It is easy to represent political zeal as anarchy, and still easier to confound the man who would gradually train a people to the appreciation of freedom, with the men who would hurry them on to abuse it. In the following extracts we shall exhibit more than one example of political indiscretion, and more than one instance of the prudence which restrained it.

"You are not alone" writes Cowper to Unwin, on the 13th of February, 1780, "in thinking that you see a resemblance between the reign of his present Majesty and that of Charles the First. The undue extension of the influence of the Crown; the discountenancing and displacing of men obnoxious to the Court; though otherwise of unexceptionable conduct and character; the waste of the public money, and especially the suspicion that obtains of a fixed design in Government to favour the growth of Popery, are features common to both faces. Again, these causes have begun to produce the same effects now as they did in the reign of that unhappy Monarch. It is long since I saw Lord Clarendon's account of it, but unless my memory fails me much, I think you will find, (and indeed it could hardly be otherwise,) that the leaders of the discontented party, and the several counties in their interest, had a good understanding with each other, and devised means for the communication of intelligence much like our committees of correspondence. You ask my opinions of the tendency of such associations. They are explicit enough, and if one was inclined to suppose their intentions peaceable, they have taken care that the supposition should be groundless. A year ago they expressed their wishes that the people would rise, and their astonishment that they did not. Now they tell the Government that the spirit of resistance is gone forth, that the nation is at last roused, that they will fly to arms upon the least provocation, and bid them slight the York petition at their peril. Sir George Savile's speech reminded me of that line in which is described the opening of the temple of Janus; a ceremony that obtained as the established prelude to war:

> " Discordia tetra
> Belli ferratos postes, portasque refregit."

It seems clear then that hostilities are intended as the last resource. As for the time they choose for the purpose, it is, in my mind, the worst they could have chosen. So many gentlemen of the first rank and property in the kingdom, resolutely bent upon their purpose, their design professedly so laudable, and their means of compassing it so formidable, would command attention at any time. A quarrel of this kind, even if it proceeded to the last extremity, might possibly be settled without the ruin of the country, while there was peace with the neighbouring kingdoms; but while there is war abroad, such an extensive war as the present, I fear it cannot." *

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO MR. PEMBERTON MILNES.†

GROSVENOR SQUARE, *February* 28*th*, 1780.

"I REJOICE very much in the spirit which now seems rising in all parts of this country.

Yorkshire has done itself great honour in taking the lead, and I am happy that so much *sense* and

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* Southey's Edition of Cowper's Works, vol. iii., p. 317.

† This gentleman was the great uncle of Mr. Richard Monckton Milnes, the present member for Pontefract. He was a very honourable upright man, and being chief magistrate of the part of the country in which he resided, and chairman of the General Quarter Sessions, held for the West Riding, was always called Justice Milnes. He was the head of the dissenting interest in the county, and a stout partisan of Lord Rockingham. Mr. Milnes was noted for his conviviality, and is supposed to have drunk more port wine than any man in Yorkshire, even in those six-bottle days. These potations do not appear to have affected his health, as he died at an advanced age. He had a great passion for building and making his own bricks, which gave cause to the verse in Lord Effingham's celebrated song at the time of Fox's union with North:—

"Oh, Pemberton Milnes,
Not all the brick-kilns
Can consistency give to thy clay.
First to sign the requisition,
Then to join the coalition,
And make a Milnes his engagement betray."

discretion prevailed in the outset of the business at the meeting of York.

It behoves Yorkshire, not only for its own honour, but also for the infinite general good of the whole nation, that when the county *proceeds again*, the mode and the objects of the measures proposed and adopted should be well considered. My mind, I confess, is by no means at ease in regard to *certain rumours* respecting some vague and crude propositions, which I am *told* are likely to be brought forth. I don't like the idea of *tests*, and especially on vague and unexplicit propositions. The being elected a representative, *if it implies* a *trust*, is most highly honourable, but if it is to lock up your reasoning faculties of deliberating and judging, and is to tie you up beforehand, and preclude you from acting according to your conscience at the moment, I think it would be a disgraceful bondage, and what *many men* of the nicest sense of honour cannot submit to. How much more too must it weigh if the *tests* which you are called upon to take, are to *propositions* which are *loosely and generally worded.*

It seems to me that the fair conclusion to be drawn (when the men *who are eager for shortening the duration of Parliament*, cannot as yet agree amongst themselves whether annual, triennial, and quintennial Parliaments, *should be substituted*), is that the matter is by no means ripe for them to call upon a candidate for a declaration. It seems to me that the idea of calling for a declaration of support for a *non-equal representation* is also, as yet, very premature; for I am sure there are *many* which have been thought of, yet the one *peculiarly preferable* is by no means a fixed and decided opinion.

Some persons, I know, by the expression of a *more equal representation,* mean *little more* than the abolishing *what are called the rotten boroughs;* some of these persons think that these boroughs should be taken away from their possessors, *without any compensation* (as being unconstitutional); some allow that the possessors should be compensated. Some persons think, that the seats for these boroughs should be filled up by additional members from their respective counties; others think, that like *Shoreham,* the seats should be filled up by the voices of the persons resident within certain neighbouring districts. Others think, that many of the great, important towns of trade and manufactures, who have not at present their respective local representatives, should fill up the parliamentary vacant seats. It is endless, indeed, to state the variety of ideas, which are now, as it were, afloat on these points.

There is still *one* speculation on the proposition of a *more equal representation,* which from its magnitude is indeed a most grave, solemn, and important object of consideration. The proposition, I mean, is that as matters now are, *the people,* as they are called, are *not represented.* It is held, that retaining the right of voting to *freeholders* in a county, is an arbitrary and *unconstitutional* assumption of power. The same opinions are held in regard to the now settled rights of voting in towns and boroughs. The assertion is, that *all men* (the whole people) *should give their votes.*

What a situation will every honest, conscientious candidate be in, when he is called upon to declare most solemnly upon his honour, that he will be for *shortening the duration of Parliament*, and for a *more equal representation*, when he cannot form a guess, what specific proposition it is on either of these points, which *those persons* mean, who require the declaration from him.

What a situation will an honest man be in, if after the making of the declaration, the proposition *moved* in a future Parliament on either of the points, should be a proposition to which his conscience revolted. You will observe that I do not argue as thinking that the duration of Parliament (septennial) might not be altered. I confess I have no idea of anything but confusion and weakness from *annual* parliaments. I by no means disagree to the idea of equitable reform, in regard to what are called rotten boroughs, &c.

The grievances we feel, and the cause of our misfortune, arise from the *corruption of men when chosen into Parliament.* Cut off the ways and means of corruption, and the effect must and will naturally cease. Mr. Burke's plan cuts off thirty-nine offices tenable and now held by members of the House of Commons. It also cuts off eleven now held by Peers in the House of Lords. This, indeed, is *striking in earnest* at the influence of the Crown over persons in Parliament. The effect is certain and immediate, and it also has a most beneficial and salutary operation in future, and which may not occur to many people's thoughts on the first view.

The *great number* of offices of more or less emolument, which are now tenable by parties sitting in Parliament, really operate like *prizes* in a *lottery*. An *interested* man purchases a seat, upon the same principle as a person buys a *lottery* ticket. The value of the ticket depends upon the quantum of prizes in the *wheel*. I think, therefore, if there are less chances of emolument, the value of seats in Parliament *will fall* (though the situations will become much more honourable).

If these happy consequences should ensue, how much more respectable will the House of Commons become. *Interested men* will lay out their money in some other way of *lucrative* advantages, while on the other hand the honest, disinterested, and well-intentioned gentlemen of fortune, rank, or abilities, will be able to serve their country in Parliament, without (what is too generally the case) ruining themselves and their families, by the enormous expenses of elections.

I really feel more solid grounds of hope that the constitution, the liberty and happiness of this country *may revive*, than I ever expected to have done, for many years past. I think most seriously that if this county of York, at their next proceedings, adheres to the *great objects* of enforcing frugal expenditure, and striking at the root of corruption, by reducing the ways and means of influence in the Crown, success will attend their endeavours; but if various speculations are gone into, even though they might be partly well founded in principles, I fear, nay, indeed, *I am certain,* that there are so many visionary schemes and expedients *by way of reforms on float,* that a *general* confusion and disagreement will ensue.

* * * * *

Ever dear Mr. Milnes,
Your most obedient and very affectionate
humble servant,
ROCKINGHAM."

SIR CECIL WRAY* TO SIR JAMES NORCLIFFE.

March 21*st*, 1780.

"As you are shortly to have a meeting of the county to conclude your plan of association, I will shortly give you my opinion on some matters which I apprehend will come before you.

Mr. Wyvill, who has taken the lead in many parts of this business, has adopted an idea, without (I think) a possibility of procuring success to it: I mean the shortening the duration of Parliament, and equalising the representation.

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* Sir Cecil Wray, at this time member for East Retford, acquired considerable political notoriety two years later, by becoming the Court candidate for Westminster, in opposition to Charles Fox. Sir Cecil was a dabbler in poetry, and the "Rolliad" has ridiculed this taste by sending forth pretended effusions of his muse. In "an Irregular Ode" he is thus made to address the King:—

"Smile Cæsar! smile on Wray;
Crown at last his *poll* with bay.
Come oh bay! and with thee bring
Salary, illustrious thing.
Laurels vain of Covent Garden,
I don't value you a farding."

In opinion I am totally for both these objects, but I very well know that such opinion is not universal; nay, perhaps, the contrary; we may have the majority of advocates.

Now, in the present state of affairs, nothing can give us any hope of success but an union of a great number of persons in one point; that seems to me to be the object of your petition. Economising and the expenditure of public money, and the removal of all undue influence by place pensioners, &c., constitute these points. There is not a man in the kingdom, who does not wish for the accomplishment of these points.

I am sorry to say that the contagion has reached even the Westminster Committee, and yesterday we adopted Mr. Wyvill's ideas; but I can prophesy that the resolutions we came to, and which I fear you will come to, will totally disunite the friends of the present petitions. You will find that you cannot attain those objects. The gentlemen will be disgusted; they will give up the affair; will think meetings expensive to themselves and useless to the public; and the Ministry will gain a complete victory.

There is not a man who more wishes for the shortening the duration of Parliaments than myself; but I would endeavour to attain them by means which carry a probability of success on the face of them. Let us first get rid of that load of influence which oppresses our Parliaments, and then we may hope to have such a Legislature as will assist us in further attempts to meliorate the Constitution.

Though I despair of preventing your coming to general resolutions on these abstract speculative questions, yet I cannot help expressing my wishes that you would have the moderation to endeavour to prevent them. We all mean one thing; but our hopes to attain that thing will lead in different roads.

Each petitioning county sent deputies to London to form an association that should carry out the objects of the petition. The Rev. Christopher Wyvil, the delegate from Yorkshire, was elected chairman of this new body, and in this capacity issued a circular letter advocating the expediency of annual parliaments, and one hundred additional members. It is to this manifesto, which Walpole designates "a composition of obscurity, bombast, and futility," that Lord Rockingham alludes in the following letter.

TO THE REV. HENRY CLERK ZOUCH.*

"DEAR ZOUCH, *March 23rd*, 1780.

* * * * *

A variety of incidents have happened in regard to the conduct and in regard to what has passed among the Deputies in London, which at this time it would be both unnecessary and too long to enter into. I shall, therefore, hasten to the actual state of what has been concluded here among the Deputies, and which is to become the subject-matter of consideration for the *county committees* in the first place, and for the *county meetings at large* in the second place.

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* Mr. Zouch was Rector of Tankersley, a Justice of the Peace, author of "Remarks on the late Revolutions of the House of Commons, respecting the proposed change of the Poor Laws, 1776." He was brother to the Rev. Thomas Zouch, D.D., whose works were edited, in 1820, by the Rev. Francis Wrangham.

I enclose to you the printed paper which contains what is to be laid before you, and I must particularly call your attention to the concluding part, viz., *Mr. Wyvill's* circular letter, which is ordered by the meeting of deputies to be annexed to the resolutions. I must observe to you that the occasion of this circular letter being annexed, arose from the *very great doubts* which *many* entertained in regard to *two* of the *four* resolutions which the Deputies at a meeting *last week* had agreed to. *Very many indeed* will by no means admit, as *an article* to which they will bind themselves, *that the Members* of the House of Commons be *annually* elected to serve in Parliament. I verily think that that article will not be adopted by any *one* of the *counties* whose Deputies were in London, *if the county of York* are not led into that decision. Perhaps, if the county of York doth, some counties may follow ; but I will venture to foretell that they will be few in number. I am convinced that nothing but confusion will arise if this measure is enforced. Surely, the impracticability of the measure of *annual* parliaments must strike the bulk of the thinking part of the subjects of this country. The whole fabric of the idea is entirely built on vague theories.

You will have seen, by my letter to Mr. Milnes, that I am (and I really have been) inclined for some time past to shorten the duration of Parliament. *Septennial* is too long a term. *Triennial* was the term of duration fixed at the *Revolution.* I have examined the number of *Petitions* on contested elections presented on several *new Parliaments.* I see, both before and since Mr. Grenville's Bill, the number of petitions on undue elections have been so great that they have not been decided in the *first Session.* In the general election in 1768, prior to Mr. Grenville's Bill, the number of petitions were thirty-eight, whereof five *were left undecided.* Many of those which were decided were not decided till just in the end of the first Session.

Mr. Grenville's Bill, rendering the *trials* more equitable, admits and requires more fair and *strict* examination into the justice of each election, and, of course, the trials are more formal, and take longer time in deciding. It appears, in the general election in 1774, there were fifty petitions on undue elections at the different towns, counties, &c.

All the committees who could sit, could only decide thirty-four out of the fifty, in the course of the first Session of that Parliament, so that sixteen remained over for *another year;* most of these fifty were two members each, some few were only *single members* who contested. Upon the whole I imagine eighty members sat during *great part of the Session*, when nobody could say they were *certain* to be the real and *fairly chosen representatives.*

I hope Mr. Wyvill will not press the annual Parliament, as a specific article on which men are to associate. If it is pressed at York, I hope a majority will by no means adopt it. I think it may, and should, be stopped in the *committee* on Saturday next at York.

I shall now proceed to state shortly some doubts I have in regard to the other article relative to there being sent not less than *one hundred* new members of Parliament, to be chosen *in a due proportion* by the several counties in Great Britain. I like exceedingly the principles on which this measure stands, but it is a proposition as yet *crude* and *unascertained* in regard to the *specific proportions* for each county, &c., and I must think it not ripe for an *article* of association. I must observe that though any alteration in regard to the boroughs, which are called the rotten parts of the Constitution, do not *now appear* to be *directly* in contemplation, yet it must be understood as a matter *hereafter* to be reformed.

I think Yorkshire sends thirty-two members, sixteen of which may be deemed to come from what are called *rotten boroughs; there is a circumstance* which, though *zealous men* for *liberty* may be angry with me for mentioning, yet I think a *little attention* to the *security of property* is not beneath the consideration of the gentlemen and freeholders in Yorkshire. I dare say you know very well that the *counties*, &c., which are *low rated to the land-tax*, have found some security from their being very *numerously* protected by having a pretty large proportion of members of Parliament chose; for the counties, or *boroughs* within the counties, are low rated to the land tax.

As *no certain* proportion of the one hundred new members, *or*, indeed, any *line* is stated by which an idea can be formed how they are to be *allotted*, is not yet digested, it rather appears to me in a light as that we *may be dashing away*, and *committing* to some danger the real property of many individuals who are neither apprised, or perhaps have the *least idea, of what* they are consenting to.

I beg my best compliments to Mr. P. Milnes and all that family.

I am, dear Zouch,
With great regard,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
ROCKINGHAM."

Thomas Howard, third Earl of Effingham, to whom the next letter is addressed, was a zealous coadjutor of Lord Rockingham, in Yorkshire. He was a man of considerable talent, but of much eccentricity of deportment. He used to affect a homely kind of dress, and his general appearance was greatly below his station in life. The resignation of his commission, rather than serve against the Americans, has been already adverted to. A whimsical indication of his sympathy with his Transatlantic fellow-subjects was the erection of a Banqueting House, which he called Boston Castle, because no *tea* was drunk there. Effingham had considerable merits as a writer. "You are always telling me," writes Mason to Walpole, "of your additional noble authors, and do not mention one worth all the rest of the bunch. I mean my neighbour here, Lord Effingham. Was there ever anything, either ancient or modern, better, either in sentiment and language, than his late speech? I have one miserable defect in my constitution, which is, I never could bear but one pint of port at a sitting; a bottle was always too much for me; else I would incontinently introduce myself to his Lordship by an ode, and he should be my Pollio. I would hope to be one of his club at Boston Castle, and try to leap a five-barred gate with his lady. Seriously, it is a pity that a man of such integrity and ability should be what he is."

In the riots of '80 the Tories spread the report that the mob was instigated by the Whigs, with a view to bring discredit on the Government, and absurd as was the rumour, it gained considerable credit. In confirmation it was asserted that Lord Effingham was killed amongst a body of rioters at Blackfriars-bridge. As he did not appear in London that Session he gave strength to the report; at last it was asserted that his body had been found, and that he was recognised by his ruffles; but as he had never been seen with such aristocratic appendages to the wrists, the story at once fell into discredit. In Lord Rockingham's second Administration, Lord Effingham was appointed Treasurer of the Household, and as he appeared with the wand of this office, together with his bâton of Deputy Earl Marshal, he was called, from his strange figure, the "Devil on two

Sticks." His appearance at Court caused much merriment, and some Tory, remarking upon the coat he wore, Burke replied, "It is the same in which he was killed at the riots." At the period of the Coalition, Effingham was one of the seceders. Pitt first appointed him Master of the Mint, and subsequently Governor of Jamaica, in which appointment he died the 15th of November, in 1791. Lady Effingham having died exactly one month before.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM.

Grosvenor Square, *May* 1*st*, 1780.

"Dear Lord Effingham,

The business which was brought before the House of Lords, by the Duke of Richmond, in regard to the state of Plymouth *at the time* when the French fleet rode insultingly on our coasts, only afforded an opportunity for Ministers to cover their shameful neglects, by interposing a *majority curtain*.* I should still have hopes (nay, more than mere hopes) that the corrupt influence of the Crown might have been *overpowered*, if I did not see that very many well-meaning men were running wild in adopting *speculative propositions as remedies*, and which are *by no means certain* in *their effects*. I see this, too, *at a time* when union *within doors* and *without* was most desirable; when firmly persisting in the *two essential propositions* of the petitions, would have *brought forward* every tardy county, and would have added fresh and additional zeal in every county which had begun to stir. The scene, indeed, is much changed. A *misled* King or a *misled* public have no claims to a passive and abject submission of the minds and consciences of individuals.

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* On the 25th of April the Duke of Richmond brought forward a motion in the House of Lords on the defenceless state of Devonshire and Cornwall. The Government, on a division, carried their amendment to defer the enquiry.

I am ever, my dear Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient and affectionate
humble servant,
ROCKINGHAM."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO STEPHEN CROFFTS, Esq.

Wimbledon, *Thursday, May* 18, 1780.

"Dear Croffts,

* * * * *

Perhaps we have not yet run through the many various *speculative* propositions of reforms in the Constitution which may come to be laid before the public. Abstract principles, theoretically right, will furnish matter for disputation in the schools of Utopia, till time is no more. But poor old England may pine away and die for want of medicines, deemed *slight* ones, and which nevertheless may check her disorder, and may give time for wisdom, sobriety and attention to re-establish her present miserable, broken Constitution.

ROCKINGHAM."

The following very sensible letter from the Duke of Portland, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, was probably addressed to one of the leading country gentlemen in Buckinghamshire.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO ———

LONDON, *Friday evening, May 26th*, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR,

I very much regret the impossibility I am under of attending the meeting of the county of Bucks to-morrow, because I understand that an intention still prevails in the mind of a very respectable member of the committee to have the sense of the county on two very important questions; namely, "Triennial Elections" and an "Additional number of County Members," to which I should be unwilling to give either a silent affirmative or negative vote. Was I not urged by the irresistible force of the duty I owe to the public I might content myself with being included in the majority of that committee which decided on the impropriety of recommending these subjects to the consideration of the county; or I might shortly express my concurrence in the sentiments which our worthy and most disinterested friend Mr. Burke has already submitted to our chairman, in a manner equally characteristic of his deep knowledge and consummate talents, as well as of his constant and uniform attachment to the welfare of this country. I could very much have wished that the different counties which were disposed to associate for the redress of grievances, had confined themselves to the investigation of the causes of those which have nearly overwhelmed us; to a demand of the most rigid frugality in the expenditure of the public money; and a reduction of the enormous influence of the Crown within its due and constitutional limits; which I conceive to have been the professed objects of the petitions. I the more particularly wished this, because it appeared to me that very few would have been found hardy enough to avow their dissent from those propositions, and that a centre of union would have been thereby formed, around which persons of all descriptions might have joined both hearts and hands, and a party have been raised capable of resisting that torrent of corruption which has so rapidly pervaded every part of this country. I flattered myself that the formation of such a party would have been the first effects of the petitions; for be the virtue, the resolution, the activity of an individual ever so great or persevering, it is in vain for him to hope for success in that capacity alone. I, who have always acted with a party,—with a party composed of as much virtue, as much courage, as much temper, as much ability, as much zeal for the rights of mankind and our free constitution, as could be possessed by men, with whom it is my pride, and will be my greatest honour to be connected,—have felt so strongly the difficulties which have stood in the way of their exertions for the public service, that I have been constantly surprised at any success with which they have been attended. I, therefore, hoped that the magnitude of the object would have so far prevailed over the delicacy of the most scrupulous as to have induced them to unite firmly and cordially in breaking those chains which have bound us so long and so fatally. . . .

Every fresh source of expense tends to lsssen the objects of your choice, by checking the inclinations of those who are capable of being candidates, and thereby increases the power of the Crown by diminishing the number of those who may be able to resist the encroachments it may be advised to attempt. It is, therefore, impossible for me to countenance a proposition which, however specious, however apparently congenial with the principles of representation, however seemingly warranted by experience, I do in my heart believe to be not adapted to the present age of our Constitution, and likely to hurry it into a rapid decline. As to the other proposition, of one hundred new county members, I object to that, not only upon account of the Crown, but as being prejudicial to the democratical part of the Constitution, by throwing too great a weight into the scale of the aristocracy. By the word *aristocracy* I do not mean to be understood as intending the Peerage only, but to include such of the Commons as are possessed of property equal, if not superior, to many who have seats in the House of Lords. It is my opinion that if this measure should be adopted, combinations would be likely to take place among the most opulent, to the total exclusion of many valuable and useful gentlemen of moderate fortunes, who would not venture to oppose the united powers of such a confederacy, not only for fear of the present expense, but of the possible consequences which might arise from the resentment of so formidable an enemy. I think the representation of counties would be entirely engrossed by the most opulent families in them ; the middling gentleman, the independent freeholder would be disregarded and neglected. The checks which at present operate on the conduct of Knights of the Shire would be removed or totally annihilated ; he would become independent of his nominal constituents, and look only for support to the great men and their retainers ; and till I am convinced that wealth or landed property renders the possessors of them inaccessible to the attacks and allurements of the powers of the Crown, I cannot but fear that the adoption of this experiment will be likely to operate against the real interest of the people, and make their scale in the Constitutional balance so light as to kick the beam. I have but too often seen, and I am sorry to say it—(but I must not conceal the truth, for I neither mean to deceive nor wish to mislead)—but I have but too often seen great difficulty in prevailing upon a proper candidate to serve for a county, when no opposition has been apprehended ; and are we to suppose that this difficulty will decrease by giving an additional number of county members ? If it should be the case, I fear it will be owing to causes very contrary to those we ought to wish for. I mean the introduction of persons of improper, because of dependent, characters, the worshippers of power and creatures of this new species of representation which it is proposed to give birth to. Before the independent freeholder is allured by the idea of having three, four, or five votes, instead of the two he now possesses, I would wish him, seriously and dispassionately, to consider whether he may not lose the opportunity of exercising that franchise which he now enjoys; and when it becomes so much the interest and convenience of the great men in his county to unite, whether he will continue of the consequence and importance he feels himself of under the present form of the Constitution. It being, in my apprehension, my indispensable duty to watch over and guard the several constituent parts of the State, so as that no one should gain any undue advantage over the other, I can no more let the Aristocratical part preponderate over the Democratical, than I can suffer the Royal influence to endanger the other two. Whether any or what farther steps the adoption of this measure of one hundred new Knights of the Shire may lead to, I don't enquire or pretend to point out. I have my suspicions, and will proceed warily. I have a right to expect the whole of a plan to be laid before me before I give my assent to any part of it. I am fearful of taking down any part of an old fabric, lest I bring the whole to the ground. I have expressed my apprehensions thus explicitly and distinctly because I hope and believe we stand in need of no such correctors as are intended to be proposed, and that our Constitution still retains that force and energy which a direct recourse to would prove sufficient to restore Parliament to that independence of which we feel and lament the loss. But at the same time, that I have so openly and unreservedly declared my dissent from the propositions which I conceive may be made to the meeting, I am as free to declare that I think the people have a right to that Constitution which they like best, and that I shall most cheerfully submit to what their general voice approves; but till I am satisfied that such is their wish and demand (of the contrary of which I am hitherto most firmly persuaded), I will forewarn them of the danger to which I think such a change would expose them, and will do my utmost to prevent their being ruined by a mistaken zeal, as much as I would to resist their being sacrificed by power.

I am, with sincere regard and esteem,
My dear Sir,
Your most faithful humble servant,
PORTLAND."

CHAPTER XV.

LORD GEORGE GORDON.—LETTERS OF THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.—JEREMY BENTHAM.—LORD HARDWICKE ON THE WAR WITH HOLLAND.—LETTERS OF THE DUKES OF GRAFTON AND MANCHESTER.—LOAN OF 1781.—PARLIAMENT SUMMONED.—ADMIRAL KEMPENFELT.—LETTER OF SIR GEORGE SAVILE.

On the second of June, Lord George Gordon attended by sixty thousand brother fanatics, presented a petition to the House of Commons from the Protestant Association, praying for the repeal of the Act passed in the preceding Session in favour of the Roman Catholics.

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Kimbolton Castle, *June 8th,* 1780.

"My dear Lord,

Since I have left town, I am informed the mobs have increased in London, and done much mischief to the property of many worthy people: by the accounts I receive, every thing seems to be in a state of anarchy. I am sure your Lordship will not suspect me of approving of the lawless outrages of abandoned people, who may take the opportunity of the present commotions, either to satisfy their private vengeance, or to enrich themselves by the plunder of other men's property; but having thus guarded myself, I must express my wishes that the Legislature would give some satisfaction to the petitioners, who, I believe, do many of them conscientiously think it their duty to resist the great indulgence shown to the Papists by the late alterations of the penal laws. Could a *general toleration be established*, I should be ready to go as far as any writings of Mr. Locke ever suggested, *to all religions*, consistent with public safety; but unhappily the tenets of the Papists do make it indispensably necessary in our Constitution, to put stronger restrictions upon them than upon men of any other faith. When the Act complained of passed in our House, I made no opposition to it, as I was willing, on general principles of toleration, to do every justice to Roman Catholics; but I had doubts that the Legislature was going too far, further than the times would bear; the event has proved it. Whether or not in the present moment the cry of the multitude should be obeyed, is worth deliberation; but having in the few words I lately spoke in the House, recommended a revision of the penal laws, I could not help stating my opinion to your Lordship, and the reasons that make me differ from you and some other friends, whom in general I think so highly of, that I seldom permit my own opinion to combat theirs. The present confusions require healing measures for tender minds, as well as vigorous punishments for the guilty; advanced as the

Session is, it would give me pleasure to see the subject of the penal laws once more agitated, and should be happy to give my attendance for the revising of them, if I could meet with the support of those to whose judgment I pay the greatest deference. Will your Lordship be so obliging as to let me know your thoughts on this pressing matter.

I have, &c.
MANCHESTER."

Another duke more deeply imbued with the principles of toleration, viewed the transactions in a wiser spirit.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Ranmer Camp, Dorking.
Monday morning, June 12th, 1780.

"My dear Lord,

I arrived here this morning, and shall have full occupation both to-day and to-morrow, but on Wednesday if you have any commands for me, and can conveniently come here, I shall be ready to receive them; if not, I dare say, I can obtain the General's leave to meet you at Wimbledon at any hour you will appoint.

Although my ears and eyes have not suffered by being on the spot, like your Lordship, during the horrid scenes of last week, you will readily believe that my mind has been under much anxiety for the safety of my friend, and, indeed, for the public. I could not have bore being absent had I thought my presence could have done any good, but the certain knowledge of the contrary gave me a melancholy comfort in my absence.

Lord Egremont, who went through Guildford yesterday, left word with Mr. King whom he saw there, that your Lordship and Charles Fox with others wished much to see me to talk about what is to be done, and particularly concerning the petition to repeal the Acts in favour of the Roman Catholics.

My mind is made up never to consent to that measure, but to oppose it, and have no better support than the folly and wickedness of the present Ministers and councils, is not prudent or wise. I have long seen, and at last said, that nothing but misery, wretchedness, and ruin are to be expected. I do *despair* of the State. I *never should despair* of it against any combination of foreign foes: but I *do despair* seeing the domestic enemies it has, and their power. All attempt to meddle is sure to return nothing but additional vexation; I have long thought so, and the late times have not altered my mind, or diminished my aversion to interfering with public business. If the nation can so tamely bear all it has bore, and the evident loss of their own liberty without stirring, and will submit to be led by Scotch fanatics, and to the tune of the bagpipe,—set Newgate loose, and burn London, turning against the best friends of liberty, and confounding them with its worst enemies,—such a nation *cannot* be saved.

I mean to go no more to London this year, and probably never to Parliament again. But in every situation of life, my warmest affection will ever make me show myself,

My dear Lord, &c.,
RICHMOND."

The Session of Parliament was closed by the King in person, on the 8th of July. Shortly prior to its breaking up, his Majesty was once more compelled "to stoop to opposition."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO JOHN LEE, ESQ.

WIMBLEDON.
Sunday morning, July 9th, 1780.

"DEAR LEE,

As you are trusted with the grand secret of the outlines on which a negotiation was commenced, it is but fair to trust you with the conclusion. A very few words will make you complete master of all that has passed; viz., that there seems *to be a decisive disinclination* to almost every idea, on which (I thought) a Government, either in regard to *measures* or *persons*, could be formed.

The high tone of his Majesty's speech yesterday, is very explanatory of the ideas and principles which predominate.*

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* The part of the King's speech to which Lord Rockingham evidently refers, is the concluding paragraph, which runs thus: "Warn them" (the people) "of the hazard of innovation; point out to them the fatal consequences of such commotions as have lately been excited, and let it be your care to impress on their minds this important truth, —that rebellious insurrections to resist or to reform the laws, must end either in the destruction of the persons who make the attempt, or in the subversion of our free and happy Constitution." *Parl. Hist.*

I wish I could have seen you. I imagine you set out to-morrow. I hope to proceed to Yorkshire in ten days.

Lady Rockingham sends you her best compliments. I have got a cold, and am not very well, but a few quiet days will, I imagine, recruit me.

I am, dear Sir,
Your most obedient and very affectionate
humble servant, &c.
ROCKINGHAM."

A letter from Jeremy Bentham to his friend Wilson supplies the details which the preceding letter does not afford. It is headed, "Relation of an overture made by Lord North to the Rockingham party for a coalition, in the summer of 1780, given by Lord Shelburne to Mr. W. Pitt, on Sunday, September 16, 1781, after dinner." This letter, after stating that George the Third was disinclined to part with Lord Sandwich, goes on to declare, that "if the King could be prevailed with to give up Lord S(andwich) . . . whoever should come into the Admiralty, it must not be Admiral Keppel; that Charles Fox could not be received, at least immediately, into any of the high and confidential offices, such as that of Secretary of State. . . . . . This being reported to Lord Rockingham," says Bentham, "he returned an answer of himself without consulting the party . . . I think he stood out for Keppel, and insisted that the Duke of Richmond and Charles Fox should be Secretaries of State." *

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* Dr. Bowring's edition of Bentham's Works, vol. x., p. 102.

In the autumn the Parliament was suddenly dissolved. The proclamation announcing this event "came like a clap of thunder on those who were not in the secret." * It was generally supposed to be a trick of the Court, to take the opposition by surprise, particularly those Militia officers, who, like Sir George Savile, were on duty at Ranmer Camp. Of the candidates at the general election, I would make mention of two. One is the Honourable William Pitt, afterwards Prime Minister, but who at this time had not long completed his twentieth year.

THE HON. WILLIAM PITT TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

PEMBROKE HALL, CAMBRIDGE.
July 19*th*, 1779.

"MY LORD,

I do not know what apology to offer for presuming to trouble your Lordship with an application which has, I fear, but little claim to your attention. I flatter myself, that your Lordship may be induced to pardon that liberty, as it proceeds from my ambition to obtain the honour of your Lordship's countenance, on an occasion in which it must be very essential to the success of my wishes. It is my intention to offer myself a candidate to represent the University of Cambridge at the general election; and as I know that the authority of your Lordship's name must carry the greatest weight in this place, as well as in every other, I cannot help being extremely anxious to have that interest in my favour, which would be equally honourable and effectual.

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* Annual Register, 1780.

I have only to hope that the ground on which I stand, as well as the principles which I have imbibed, and which shall always actuate my conduct, may be considered by your Lordship as some recommendation.

W. PITT."

Lord Rockingham writes in reply :—

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO HON. WILLIAM PITT.

GROSVENOR SQUARE, *August 7th,* 1779.

"I HAD the honour to receive your letter some days ago. I am so circumstanced from the knowledge I have of several persons who may be candidates, and who indeed are expected to be so, that it makes it impossible for me, in this instance, to show the attention to your wishes which your own, as well as the great merits of your family entitle you to."

As the name of William Pitt will not again occur in these pages, I may here advert to his declaration on the 8th of March, 1782, that "he would never accept of a subordinate situation under Government." He had scarcely, however, made the announcement, than he seems to have been seized with some misgivings. For he inquired of Admiral Keppel, who was sitting next him whether he had said too much. "I think you have," was the reply. "Shall I rise to explain?" asked Pitt. "No;" replied the Admiral, "Parliamentary explanations are best avoided."* Pitt acted upon the suggestion, allowed his words to go unretracted, and, in less than two years, he displayed, in his own person—

> "A sight to make surrounding nations stare—
> A kingdom trusted to a school-boy's care" †

The other candidate, to whom I would allude, is Admiral Keppel, who had represented the Borough of Windsor since the year 1761. Shortly after the dissolution he presented himself before his former constituents, but found another candidate in the field,—Mr. Powney,‡ a gentleman set up in opposition to him by the Court. The power of the Crown, strong everywhere, might naturally be supposed too mighty in such a town as Windsor, yet Keppel lost his election only by sixteen votes. On his speech from the hustings, at the close of the poll, after alluding to a report that the King had personally taken a part against him, Keppel said—"This cannot be true. It OUGHT not to be believed: it MUST not be believed."

This innuendo will be explained by a family tradition.

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* My authority for this statement is my cousin, Sir Robert Adair, whose informant was his uncle, Admiral Keppel himself.

† Rolliad.

‡ Pen Portlock Powney, Esq. His opposition to the Fox and North Administration drew upon him the following lines of the Rolliad:—

> "The Quixote Howard, Royal Windsor's Pride,
> And Sancho Panca Powney by his side:
> He speaks! he speaks! seditious chiefs around
> With unfeigned terror hear the solemn sound,
> While little Powney cheers with livelier note,
> And shares his triumph in a silent vote."

The King is said to have canvassed for votes in person against the Admiral. One elector, a silk-mercer, and a stout Keppelite, stated that his Majesty, in canvassing him, said in his usual quick manner, "The Queen wants a gown—wants a gown—No Keppel!—No Keppel!"

Soon after the contest at Windsor, a large deputation of the Surrey electors invited Keppel to be put in nomination for their county. He consented, and obtained a majority of five hundred and sixteen votes over the Government candidate.

Keppel, writing to Lord Rockingham on the 11th of October, says, "The Surrey voters, that came from Windsor and about that place, returned with the utmost speed to announce my victory to the inhabitants of Windsor. The cannon were soon firing, and the bells ringing; and almost every house was lighted. I have been told his Majesty said that it would possibly be 'a busy night,' and had recommended a serjeant and twelve privates, with loaded arms, to patrol the streets. The following day the Prince of Wales and Prince Frederick took the most undisguised pains to express to every friend of mine their extreme satisfaction upon my success, and to one friend—I believe more than one—they said, *we* have had a most complete victory." *

To this account of the conduct of the two Princes here mentioned, I may add, that His Royal Highness the late Duke of Sussex himself told me that he had been locked up in the nursery at Windsor for wearing Keppel colours.

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* Life of Lord Keppel.

On the 3rd of September, Captain George Keppel, commanding the "Vestal" frigate, fell in with an American ship near the banks of Newfoundland. The papers were thrown overboard, but, being recovered, they proved the existence of a treaty of Holland with the insurgent colonies. After several angry memorials had passed between the English and the Dutch Governments, letters of marque and reprisal were granted against the Dutch. Sir Joseph Yorke, our Minister at the Hague, was ordered home. On the 10th of December, war with Holland was formally proclaimed.

LORD HARDWICKE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, *December 20th,* 1780.

"MY DEAR LORD,

It is certainly true that Sir Joseph was recalled by orders from hence the latter end of last week; I knew it not till Monday, and then *sub sigillo;* that the States have ordered him away I do not believe, as I had a letter from him of the 12th last night, which says nothing of it, but mentions his second memorial, which is in the papers. The orders from hence direct my brother to wait at Antwerp till further *instructions,* with *what view* I am not apprised.

It is very certain that the Prince of Orange, by his weakness, has let all authority slip out of his hand, and your Lordship will excuse my *repeating* what I wrote to Sir Joseph some weeks ago, that if his Highness did not exert himself more, the best thing he could do would be to purchase two burgomasters at Amsterdam for *life* for himself and his son.

We have been undoubtedly very ill-used by the Dutch in various capital instances, but how to extricate *ourselves* out of all the squabbles we are involved in, is not for me to determine.

The Emperor's death may produce great *events*, but perhaps not immediately. He is said to be adverse to France, *par consequence*, well inclined to us, but so was Catherine of *Russia*, yet her armed Neutral Convention in the North was as baneful a measure for Great Britain as if France and Spain had dictated it.

I accede to your congratulation on the safe *return* of our *western squadron*, but we remember very different operations from it. It is now, however, to be received with *thanks* to Providence. *Fallere et effugere triumphus.*[*]

I am, my dear Lord,
Your most faithful and obedient servant,
HARDWICKE."

"P.S.—We did not force the Pr[ince] of Or[ange] or the Rep[ublic] in 1748; it was the weakness, of their great men, their fear of the *French*, the same causes, in short, as made William the Third, Stadtholder; the Fr[ench] were then in Zealand and Dutch Flanders."

The conduct of the Government, in thus adding another and powerful nation to our list of enemies was severely reprobated by the opposition, but the new war was very generally popular "out of doors," and all conciliatory amendments were rejected by large majorities.

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[*] "Quos opimus
Fallere et effugere est triumphus."
Hor., lib. iv., Od. 4, v. 52.

THE DUKE OF GRAFTON TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

EUSTON, *January* 18*th*, 1781.

MY DEAR LORD,

Your Lordship and I can never greatly differ on public matters; and on the last mad exploits of our leaders towards Holland, I think that there can be but one opinion among those, who can see the real interests of this country, and wish to forward them. Yet, my dear Lord, no good will be done on this point, any more than on many others; specious arguments of furnishing the naval arsenals of France and Spain will silence sounder policy in debate. I am now confined by a sore throat, but hope to be in London by the end of the next week: sooner I really can not. I am satisfied that no good is to be at *present* done by any attendance in the House; though *there*, and everywhere else, I can never be so happy as in showing that sincere regard and esteem with which I am,

My dear Lord,
Your Lordship's very faithful and obliged
humble servant,
GRAFTON."

"It is not a little remarkable," writes Burke,* "that the riots in 1780, which tended to the direct subversion of all order and government, should have been the means of affording strength to Administration, which few other events could at that time have produced."

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* Annual Register.

The enormities committed by the rioters had inspired a dread of all popular assemblies, however legitimate and peaceable might be the objects they met to promote. The retainers of Government not only succeeded in heightening this feeling of alarm, but in producing a very general belief that the Whig party were the actual instigators of the late disturbances.

The apathy produced on the public by these unfounded insinuations, may be inferred from the two desponding letters which follow, from the Dukes of Richmond and Manchester.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Goodwood, *January* 18*th*, 1781.

"My dear Lord,

* * * *

I should have been very happy to have had some leisure conversation with your Lordship, as it is at all times both instructive and pleasing to me to talk with one who thinks so honestly and deals so candidly as you do; but I regret the opportunity the less, as excepting for the personal benefits I have mentioned, I fear it could produce no good. I see no possible good, or at least within the reach of any probability, to this country from any event. Even the accumulation of misfortunes, which sometimes rouses nations to sentiments of virtue, and stirs up vigour to retrieve themselves, seems to be a lost hope for this country. A general stupidity and indolence seems to have seized the nation ; its character is lost ; and what we used to wonder at in other nations, reading of their tame submission to the change from liberty to despotism, we see happen under our own eyes without the possibility of preventing ! The few who are capable of any exertion are split into miserable little palliating politics, unable to act together, un-united upon any system. I blame nobody, because I am aware of the difficulties necessarily arising from what depends so much on the different opinions of men ; I am sure individuals will never agree while those they have just confidence in differ ; and I cannot blame these for following their own opinions. I can only lament these differences, and their fatal consequences. I shall say no more, as I write by the post, and shall soon have the honour of seeing you. By soon, I mean next week ; I cannot fix my day, but certainly not later than Tuesday.

I mean to attend the House of Lords, not to debate, but to protest against this Dutch war, unless the justice and necessity of it is proved to me by the correspondence. This is all I conceive to be either necessary or advisable for me to do at present.

It gives me great concern to hear you have not been well, but do not let politics, either external or internal, vex you. When one has done what one thinks right, one may be satisfied at least with oneself, and methinks it does not require much philosophy to find out that there are few things worth being very angry with other people for. I do not mean but that I would do strict justice to the Minister or highwayman, but I would not fret myself that either had robbed me. Adieu, my dear Lord.

Believe me ever your affectionate humble servant,

RICHMOND."

The Duke of Manchester, who though a Whig, had a strong leaning towards the prerogative, wrote to Lord Rockingham as follows :—

THE DUKE OF MANCHESTER TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

KIMBOLTON CASTLE, *January* 20*th*, 1781.

"MY LORD,

I received this morning the favour of your letter of the 15th of this month, and should be happy to obey your commands, and wait upon you before the meeting of Parliament, if engagements in this country, that I do not know well how to put off, as they are of a public nature, were not very much in my way. Your Lordship must, I am sure, be satisfied of my earnestness to attend all public service, and particularly to show my zeal when you take a part, both from the high esteem I bear your public character, and, if you permit me the honour, from private friendship and regards.

But I am certain you cannot be surprised that, under the present circumstances, and after such long and repeated unsuccessful attacks, I should think it vain to repeat them without change of system on our side, and at least a little unanimity in the mode of our attacks, which I doubt does not at present prevail. However, if anything serious is meant, and you will be so obliging as to summons me, I will certainly obey your call, after the ensuing week; after the first day of the meeting, I imagine little more than an Address of form can pass, which perhaps it may be difficult to oppose. The Dutch war is certainly a great calamity added to the burdens which this nation was oppressed with; the time and manner of beginning it, perhaps to be condemned; or, the preceding negotiations weak and ill-managed: but the war itself, from the accounts, such as I have been able to collect in this retirement, does really appear to me to have been almost unavoidable, without great yielding on the side of England, and giving up the once asserted superiority of the sea. I do not pretend to give any opinion as to the prudence of the measure; but I have a letter from the West Indies so early as at the very beginning of September, in which is written, that a Dutch admiral, in a line-of-battle ship, had arrived at St. Eustatia, who said that he expected several frigates; that the Dutch were determined to protect their trade; and a report ensued that a Dutch war would take place before Christmas, and that the Dutch Admiral behaved very ill to several English privateers. I mention these facts, which perhaps your Lordship may know much better; but, should you not have heard them, you may perhaps think them worth consideration previous to the debate.

The Duchess desires me to return her kind compliments to your Lordship and Lady Rockingham, and I beg you to believe me to be, with the greatest truth and regards, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient,
And affectionate humble servant,
MANCHESTER.'

The following letter has reference to two Protests, which were entered on the Lords' Journals against the rejection of an amendment to the Address on the rupture with Holland.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

Monday night, twelve o'clock.

"DEAR DUKE OF RICHMOND,

I have taken a copy and return your Grace my letter enclosed.

I have *again* read over the *second protest.* I cannot say that either the matter contained, or the *transaction* itself, affords me much pleasure. One more reflexion,—the only shelter to my own mind is, that I signed it in conformity to your Grace's judgment and wish.

There is a part in the second protest which escaped my notice till just now. I own it made me smile, and especially as the thought struck me, that Lord Chatham in all his glory would scarce have exacted a higher compliment."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

January 29th, 1781.

"DEAR DUKE OF RICHMOND,

I am doubtful whether the *assuming* and *declaring* that there are *very many good Dutchmen* who dislike this war, may not, in fact, even hurt and weaken *their future endeavours* to reconciliate the two countries. *Jealousy* of the Stadtholder is at a high pitch in Holland. I have heard that both *there* and *here* hints have been dropped that our *sudden* and violent proceeding against Holland was a manœuvre to *stun them into their senses, not taken without the privity of the Stadtholder*. I by no means believe it to be a fact. But everything which can tend to enable the French faction in Holland to spread jealousy of the Stadtholder and of those among the Dutch who have long been looked on as the friends of their country, may, too probably, have dangerous consequences.

Your Grace will consider that in this moment the Dutch, in general, are under the first impulse of irritation, occasioned by the conduct of this country against them. The great majority support which the Ministers have had in the House of Lords, and the great (though comparatively not near so great) majority in the House of Commons, added to the mad and wicked activity of individuals in pursuit of plunder on the Dutch, must and will, in general, in Holland, be considered as the strongest marks of the decided determination of this country to all manner of violence.

I think what was done to mark most strongly in both Houses of Parliament, that there were very many considerable persons who abhorred the being thus plunged into a mischievous war with Holland, was most perfectly right and correct, both in regard to this country, and in regard to our old ally Holland."

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The date of the year of the following letter is not given. It appears to refer to the year 1781.

HON. CHARLES JAMES FOX TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"MY DEAR LORD, NEWMARKET, *May 6th.*

As I have nothing to do in town, I mean to stay here till the end of the week, unless there should be some House of Commons business. What makes me, therefore, trouble you with this, is to beg that you will send for me in case there should be any occasion for debate; I shall certainly be ready to come at a moment's warning, and beg you will not scruple to send for me if you have the least wish for me to be in town. If you see the Duke of Grafton, I hope you will talk a little upon general political ideas, in which I believe we all three agree as much as possible; I am sanguine enough to think that, with perseverance and activity, we may in time make a strong Whig party in the country, and if we cannot, I am sure there is nothing to do but to give the thing fairly up, and to see who can make his court best at St. James's. Whatever is to be done, believe me, my dear Lord, that I shall be very happy to co-operate steadily, for I think the object worth struggling for.

I am,
My dear Lord, yours very sincerely,
C. J. FOX.

Of all the ministerial acts of Lord North none drew down upon him more general reprehension than the loan of 1781. Twelve millions were borrowed upon terms so liberal to the lenders as to give them an interest of ten per cent. Nor was this the whole of the Minister's delinquency. Instead of inviting the principal bankers in London to become subscribers, he divided the loan between his own supporters in the Lords and Commons,—no less a sum than 3,000,000*l.* is said to have been given to Mr. Atkinson, who figures in the Rolliad as one of those

"Virtuous patriots without blot,
The minor Kinson." *

A spirited opposition to the Bill was offered in its passage through Parliament. On the third reading of the Bill in the Upper House, Lord Rockingham declared, that "in his apprehension the loan was made merely for the purpose of corrupting the Parliament, to support a wicked, impolitic, and ruinous war." As his Lordship did not press for a division, no reply was made, and the Bill was passed. A few days afterwards Sir George Savile brought forward a motion relative to the distribution of the loan. Lord Abingdon, to whom Lord Rockingham had applied to obtain support for Sir George, wrote in reply :—

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* "The minor *Kinson*, or Kinson the less, is obviously Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Jenkinson being confessedly greater than Mr. Atkinson, or any other man except *one* in the kingdom."—*Rolliad,* p. 49.

EARL OF ABINGDON TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

BRUTON STREET, *Saturday morning.*

"I HAVE received the favour of your letter, and will immediately comply with its contents, in writing to Lord Wenman,* and the Captain.† Lord Wenman, I fear, will not be able to attend. He has had a very severe fit of the gout, and my last accounts of him were that he was very ill. The Captain may attend, but I believe he would be more ready to do so, if the question was, that Sandwich should be turned out of the Admiralty and his friend Keppel put in his stead. I agree with you in thinking the loan to be a very abominable transaction ; but I have not a much better opinion of the taxes. They were cruel *in the present moment.* They are impolitic, and most assuredly will prevent, in a very considerable degree, their own production. I wish I had been in the House to hear your oration, but I did not expect it. You know I am ever as ready to support what is for the general good as I am to oppose what has a contrary tendency. I was sorry you prevented Stormont from speaking, by declaring you would not divide the House. I should have been glad to have known whether he had anything more to say for North than North had to say for himself."

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* Philip Viscount Wenman, member for Oxfordshire.

† Captain the Hon. Peregrine Bertie, R.N., member for Oxford, brother to the Earl of Abingdon.

Parliament, which had been prorogued in July, was summoned for the 27th of November. Two days before it re-assembled, intelligence was received that Lord Cornwallis and his whole army had been taken prisoners. The speech from the throne, however, indicated no disposition to relax hostilities. On the same day the Duke of Richmond wrote to Lord Rockingham as follows:—

"I AM sorry that your Lordship has had the trouble of sending an express for me, and I doubt not on very promising business, for I augur ill from the Chancellor's wishing to communicate with such a Cabinet or such a Minister as Lord North for making peace with America. I am convinced from these and other circumstances I heard before I left London, that no essential change of measures is meant, and none of men if it can be avoided; and if the Ministry be driven to it they will seek only to get Lord Shelburne a small addition of strength, but they will never consent to take in a large body of men who will have strength of their own to depend on. When I say the Ministry, I mean the King, for his servants are the merest servants that ever were.

I cannot say that I see light anywhere, but I highly approve of the attempt to get rid of the American war anyhow, and do believe it a point on which the nation generally will be of our opinion."

Our operations by sea were scarcely more creditable than those by land. Intelligence having been received that a French fleet was about to leave Brest, in order to reinforce the East and West India squadrons, Admiral Kempenfelt was despatched to intercept them, but the Admiralty having only given him twelve sail of the line to encounter a fleet of nineteen sail, he was compelled to return to port without risking an engagement. Ever since Keppel had been tried by a Court-Martial, his cousin Fox had brought forward at short intervals motions animadverting on the conduct of Lord Sandwich. Shortly after the Christmas recess, he moved for an enquiry into the cause of the want of success of the British Navy. In his speech he passed in review the measures of the first Lord of the Admiralty, from the time Keppel had been invited to take the command, in 1776, and wound up his observations on Kempenfelt's recent unsuccessful expedition.

Sir George Savile, whose assistance Lord Rockingham had requested, thus wrote in answer :—

"I do not see in what way I can put my hand to the preparatory work at all, that preparatory work consisting chiefly in collecting *facts*, *dates*, finding what intelligence Lord S—— had, and judging what *he might* have had, and all this in a line that I am quite out of, and in which we have the most able workmen, and certainly some who, if they have the common human passions, will not want zeal. There are but two things as principles I wish to circulate; the one is rather to make sure work as far as we go, than to vaunt or undertake too much in our opening. The next is somewhat different, and yet of the same kind. I mean that it should not be understood that we are brought to shame if we do not bring Westminster Hall proof of negligence or treachery. The degree of proof to *discord*, and that to cut heads off, widely differ, and it would be very dangerous doctrine that members of Parliament were to bring accusations at their peril. On the contrary, neglect of enquiry, where there is even light ground of suspicion, should be at their peril. I could not say more than this were I in town a month. I wish, and I think not unreasonably, for all the time I can get. I have kept your servant rather than lose my walk, one of three or four which I may, perhaps, get these five months. I am taking neutral draughts and bark, and it is a serious thing to me, whether I am to work for myself or others, that I should make the most of the five or six-and-twenty days I get at Rufford in the year for business and health, to say nothing of amusement, but as it conduces to the former.

The question of Kempenfelt seems to lie in a mighty narrow compass. When you sent out twelve ships, did you know they had nineteen or not. If you did *not*, culpable ignorance; if you *did*, worse. For either you could have made Kempenfelt stronger, or you could not. If you *would*, culpable neglect *then;* if you could not, culpable neglect *before*, and in proportion. I do not say that these two dilemmas ought to hang a man, but they are *primâ facie* matter enough to justify—I say wrong—to make it a duty for Parliament to enquire."

The debate to which the Duke of Portland refers in the following letter, took place on the 6th of March. It was on the motion of the Duke of Chandos to enquire into the cause of the surrender of the whole army under the command of the Earl of Cornwallis, at York-town.

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

WELBECK, *Sunday, February 3rd,* 1782.

"MY DEAR LORD,

Though I flatter myself that the letter with which I troubled you on the 30th of January must have been safely delivered to you long before this time, and that the post will barely allow me time to acknowledge the receipt of your very obliging letter of Friday last, I cannot help endeavouring to return you my thanks for it; and observing that notwithstanding my being satisfied that the event of to-morrow will be as disgraceful to the majority of the House as the conversation on Friday was to the King's servants, I cannot but apprehend that the consequences will not extend beyond the circle of your own particular friends, whose voices are not loud enough to be heard, or their means powerful enough to make any impression upon the minds of a public whose insensibility and baseness entitle them to the treatment they receive from those who are entrusted with the management of their affairs.

* * * *

PORTLAND."

CHAPTER XVI.

SIR GEORGE SAVILE ON LORD GEORGE GERMAIN'S ELEVATION TO THE PEERAGE.—MINISTERS IN A MINORITY.—LETTERS FROM LORD ABINGDON AND DUKE OF RICHMOND—LORD CHANCELLOR THURLOW.—CORRESPONDENCE WITH LORD ROCKINGHAM.—STATE OF IRELAND.—LORD CHARLEMONT.—LETTER TO THE KING.—DEATH OF LORD ROCKINGHAM.—HIS CHARACTER.

Towards the latter end of January, Lord George Germain was allowed to retire, and the King immediately created him Viscount Sackville. As soon as it became known that his Majesty intended to call him to the Upper House, Lord Carmarthen, in reference to his having been dismissed the army for his conduct at the battle of Minden, moved that it was derogatory to the honour of the House of Lords that any person labouring under so heavy a sentence of a Court-Martial should be recommended to the Crown as worthy of the dignity of a peerage.

SIR GEORGE SAVILE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"I have no time to say anything on the spirited motion in the House of Lords yesterday. It seems a nail to drive. I look upon the abuse of the power of giving honours as a more obvious, certain, and proveable delinquency than perhaps any other. Take away the advantages which a kingdom may reap from the abuse of that power, and I should be hard set to find enough to turn the scale against a republic."

"The power of the Crown," writes Walpole to Mason, on the 3rd of February, "has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished; and it is diminished a good deal indeed. Lord Sandwich escaped on Wednesday but by a plurality of nineteen; and last night the American war survived but by one vote, which will not save its life."

Walpole was right. His friend Conway brought forward a motion to put an end to the American war, and lost it but by 194 to 193. On the 27th he renewed his attempt to bring the House to his opinion, and the Administration "was defeated by a minor- grown a major- ity of nineteen."

In answer to Lord Rockingham's announcement of this division, Lord Abingdon writes:—

"I AM much obliged to you for your intelligence. Being knocked *up* last night, I have some intention of going into the country for a few days, but I will take care to be back by Wednesday in order to knock *down* the Ministers, and so have a *Rowland* for my *Oliver*.

The Captain* is in town, and will not fail to pour in his broadside in to-morrow's fight."

On Wednesday (the 6th of March), the day alluded to in Lord Abingdon's letter, there was a call of the House on the subject of the taxes. Lord North wished for a little more time; the opposition refused, and carried their point by a majority of sixteen.

These repeated defeats could lead but to one result—the overthrow of the "King's Friend" Administration. It had, indeed, been obvious for some time that with the American war their official career must come to a close. Burke, the year before, in tracing the inseparable connection between the two events, compared Ministers to the nose of "Taliacotius" in "Hudibras," which,

> 'When life of Parent Nock was out,
> Off dropped the sympathetic snout."

To George the Third the prospect was most unpalatable. He would cease to "be King" in his own acceptation of the word, and would have to surrender the power for which he had been struggling for two-and-twenty years into the hands of the party most hateful to him. But his Majesty was not of a temperament to surrender at discretion; and Chancellor Thurlow was dispatched to Lord Rockingham, to ascertain what terms of capitulation he could obtain for his royal master.

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* Captain Bertie, R.N.

The Duke of Richmond, who rightly guessed the nature of the overtures which would be made to the leader of the Whigs, thus warns him :—

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

WHITEHALL, *Tuesday night.*

"LET me beseech you not to think that any preliminary is opening, for I have good reason for believing nothing but trick is meant. For God's sake, your own and the country's sake, keep back and be very coy. Nothing but absolute necessity and severe pressure or force will induce the Court to come to you in such a manner as to enable you to do any good. These times are coming, and you must soon see all at your feet in the manner you would wish, and with the full means to do what is right. In the meanwhile, they will try all little tricks, and most amply try to flatter your prejudices, if they conceive you have any. If to anything like this you give way, you ruin yourself and them, and the kingdom into the bargain, whereas by firmness all will come right yet, and you will carry the nation with you with such *éclat* as to ensure you the means of doing what you wish.

Pray, pray pardon this piece of impertinent advice; but it is the best service I can render you, and I am sure I owe you much for so long and approved a friendship.

I am, my dear Lord,
Ever most warmly and sincerely yours,
RICHMOND."

The character of Edward Lord Thurlow has so recently been drawn by two distinguished ornaments of the legal profession, that it may seem superfluous to attempt another delineation of the "rugged" Chancellor. Yet Thurlow was too important a personage in his day to be passed silently over in a work relating to Lord Rockingham and his contemporaries; and although I can add little to Lord Brougham's sketch and Lord Campbell's full-length portrait, I am unwilling to introduce without comment the name of one who inspired even Samuel Johnson with a feeling akin to awe. The legal and personal qualities of Thurlow do not come within my province: his political aspect alone will detain my readers for a few moments from the following correspondence between him and Lord Rockingham.

As a politician, then—for even courtesy can hardly call him a statesman—Thurlow's most striking feature was his power of intimidation. He scolded impartially all mankind—dependents, equals, superiors: mankind, be it observed, for to womankind he was uniformly urbane and obsequious. He brow-beat—and the terror of his eye, and indeed of his eyebrows, redeems the expression from metaphor—enemies and friends: the Bar and the Bench, the Lords Spiritual and the Lords Temporal, the frequenters of Nando's Coffee-house and of the Turk's Head, and the members of Brookes's, the Privy Council and the Cabinet Council, the heir to the Crown, and even the wearer of the Crown himself. He bullied Horne Tooke—that, however, was retribution:

it was but the kicking of Bully Dawson; but he bullied equally the inflexible Pitt and the "mite ingenium" of Lord North. He was proof against the rhetoric of Burke and the wily and caustic logic of Wedderburn. Exposure caused him no blush; refutation hardened him in assertion; age and rank were no shield against his insolence. To flinch from or to resist his attacks equally stimulated his acrimony and arrogance. His tongue was against every man: his truculent aspect aggravated the terrors of his speech. His gait was that of an elephant—his voice that of a lion reft of his prey. His sarcasms were surpassed only by the violence of his invectives—his invectives were exceeded only by his effrontery. One distinguished man, and one only, he treated with decorum—that man was Charles Fox; on one man, and on one man alone, he fawned, that man was his Sovereign.

His force of manner was transcendent. It beat down opposition; it effected in the halls of the Legislature what Samuel Johnson did at the Club and at Streatham; it scorned the humble and disconcerted the self-relying. His eloquence—if round assertion, sharp interrogation, and scowling menace deserve the name—admirably seconded his manner. In the strife of parties, he resembled the Indian warriors whom France and England employed in their Transatlantic campaigns. He recognised neither the weapons nor the arts of civilised warfare. He viewed all questions of policy as if for him they were open questions; and that, too, not in the just perspective, but from some angular point selected by his general antipathies or by his particular humour at the moment. He could not act in concert with his ministerial colleagues. No one could predict what measures he would support or what oppose. In the Cabinet he was often virtually an effective leader of the opposition. His opponency was bad, his advocacy often worse. Neither personal nor party allegiance bound him.

> "Masterless passion sway'd him to the mood
> Of what he liked or loathed."

And yet there is reason to think that Thurlow's demeanour was in some degree assumed, as a mask to hide infirmity of purpose, deficiency in political knowledge, or dread of ability and virtue superior to his own. Like the ponderous armour of declining chivalry, his rough and repulsive exterior was probably the defence of conscious weakness. His robust understanding could not veil from himself that he was no match for Burke in philosophy and eloquence, nor for Fox in statesmanship or scholarship, nor for Rockingham in singleness of mind, nor for North in wit and urbanity. He could not but be aware that, from first to last, he took up politics as a trade, or, in Lord Bacon's phrase, "as advancement for a man's self." He knew, in spite of his solemn or profane adjurations to the contrary, that he cared neither for Whig nor Tory. He became a Tory in 1768, because Toryism was then the shortest road to royal favour, and because the Whigs, both in Parliament and the country, had lost their popularity during Lord Chatham's Administration; but, with the same facility, Thurlow would have become a Whig of the old school in 1727, or a Whig of the new school in 1830, and given a vituperative support to the measures of Sir Robert Walpole or Earl Grey. He looked like absolute wisdom, and he spoke like absolute sincerity. But the wisdom of Thurlow seldom looked beyond the hour of his next visit to the royal closet, and the eloquence of Thurlow rarely aspired beyond discomfiting an opponent or securing a majority on a division.

Thurlow's firmness even in bad causes might have commanded respect had it sprung from conviction; but he was eminently insincere. He wrote and spoke of Christianity and the Church of England as if the one were the law of his actions, and the other the only safe interpreter of that law. Yet the keeper of the King's conscience and the dispenser of the Crown livings was not content with being profane; he was openly immoral. It is doubtful whether his liking for Fox did not arise from his hatred of Pitt. It is certain that the illness or death of his royal master would not have cost him a pang, could he have ensured the favour of his master's son and successor; and it is equally certain that, to keep well with either, he sacrificed the interests of the nation, the "applause of listening senates," and the opportunities which his professional station afforded him for cleansing the corrupted channels of justice. To Thurlow in his private relations the praise may be fairly awarded. He was a scholar, and a good and ripe one. He was an affectionate parent, and sometimes an active and cherishing patron. He had a kind of rough generosity, which moved him occasionally to take in good part a blunt remonstrance, and to prefer one who thwarted rather than one who fawned upon him. He befriended Johnson and Crabbe—the one when the shadows of evening were closing upon him, the other when the trials of poverty pressed most heavily. In worse times, indeed, there have been worse Chancellors than Edward Lord Thurlow, but an age of comparative freedom and refinement has rarely exhibited one who so ill understood, or at least so ill discharged, the functions of a statesman and a legislator.

Lord Rockingham's statement of his interview with Lord Thurlow is as follows :—

"On Monday, March 11th, the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords when it was adjourning, desired to speak to me. We sat down together and staid in the House by ourselves for about an hour and a half. Soon after he began, by the tenor of his conversation on the state of public affairs, and by some questions he put to me, I desired he would explicitly inform me, whether he had authority from his Majesty. He answered he had ; we then had some further general conversation, and he desired me to take into consideration what had passed, and he should desire to renew his conversation with me, in order to have my decision. The conversation had run into various matters, but the chief and main question was, whether I would suggest a *plan* of *arrangement* and form an Administration, (as he expressed it,) on a broad bottom.

On the Monday night at Norwich he wrote me, stating the cause which had prevented his sending to me or desiring to see me on Tuesday. His Lordship then wished to see me and I wrote to him and offered to come to him on Wednesday morning. On Wednesday morning I was with him. He renewed his conversation and explained more fully the object of his *mission*, as he termed it. The question then stood that his Majesty desired to know whether I would send through the Chancellor, an arrangement to form an Administration, on a broad bottom. My answer was, that I was much honoured by his Majesty's thinking that I could be of service to him in the sad state of the affairs of this country ; that I had every disposition and anxious desire to be able to serve his Majesty and my country ; that I too well knew the miserable state which evil councils, and evil councillors had brought it into. But that I thought there could be no good done, unless his Majesty's mind was open to receive a plan of measures, widely differing from those by which this country had been undone. That in this view, before I could say one word in regard of forming an arrangement of men, I must humbly require to know his Majesty's disposition towards me, and in fact, his acceptance of a plan of measures. I stated, *imprimis*, that I could be of no use unless his Majesty would consider the following propositions as necessary to be assented to : American Independence ; no Veto ; Establishment Bill ; great parts of Contractors' Bill ; Custom House and Excise, &c., Bill. Peace in general if possible. Economy in every branch. I stated that if the Lord Chancellor should be enabled to tell me that his Majesty's mind was open to approve, and would be assenting to those points, I should, upon being so informed, humbly desire to be admitted to his presence, and would then enter with his Majesty, into a plan for an arrangement of such men in high office, as could carry on the Administration of this country, with honour, dignity, and I hoped, with advantage. I added what I must also beg to premise, that I trusted his Majesty had no objection to any of the persons, who in every light, would naturally be thought on as *persons essential* in the service of this country. I also stated, that I hoped, under the expression of forming an Administration on 'a broad bottom,' that his Majesty did not mean to preserve any of the persons who had been considered as obnoxious Ministers, or of those who were deemed as belonging to a sort of secret system, from which many attributed all the evils of the present reign."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"MY DEAR LORD, *March 12th,* 1782.

I should have wished, before now, to pursue the conversation I began with your Lordship yesterday; but the death of my brother, which I learned when I returned home, and a feverish disorder in the night, made it rather painful to do so; but as it is for many reasons very fit to be pursued soon, I shall be glad to go on whenever your Lordship pleases. May I hope that the circumstances I have mentioned before will plead my excuse, if I take the freedom of begging to see your Lordship here.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most faithful and obedient
servant,
THURLOW."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

March 13*th*, 1782.

"MY DEAR LORD,

I am sorry to hear that your Lordship has had the misfortune and affliction to lose so near a relative. I could wish to know whether it would be agreeable to your Lordship, that I should have the honour of calling upon you this evening, or whether you would choose I should defer it till to-morrow morning. My mornings are not very early ones, and perhaps there may be *great personages* who might desire to know the *progress* of the business at an early hour. I will either wait upon your Lordship immediately after the answer to this letter, or I will come to you as early as *I can* in the morning. Your Lordship will therefore direct me according to your own wishes.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
With the greatest regard,
Your Lordship's, &c.
ROCKINGHAM."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"My dear Lord, *March* 13*th*, 1782.

Having no commands to attend any person early to-morrow, I should think it would be the same thing nearly, whether to-night or to-morrow morning. Therefore if your Lordship will give me leave, I'll expect you to-morrow, and as I shall be at home the whole morning. you'll take your own time. Permit me to repeat my apology, for troubling you to come here, and believe me,

Your Lordship's most faithful and obedient servant,

THURLOW."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"My dear Lord, *March* 14*th*, 1782.

Although I had so little to communicate to his Majesty, I think it right to tell you how I did it. I began by reminding his Majesty of the extent of my mission ; namely, to ask any of those, whose situation might enable them to bring about such a measure, whether they could hold out to his Majesty any plan for quieting our intestine divisions, and forming an Administration, on such a broad foundation as might give satisfaction, and promise permanency. I told his Majesty, that an opportunity had occurred in the House of Lords of speaking to your Lordship on this subject, which I had used in the manner his Majesty seemed to wish; and that your Lordship had no difficulty to profess (and I was convinced with perfect sincerity) utmost zeal for his Majesty's honour and happiness in every article; but that you wished to be excused from entering upon the subject of the arrangement in question with me. Although this was in truth, a final answer to my mission, I took occasion, notwithstanding, to acquaint the King with your sentiments; that the times require a speedy conclusion of peace, and a rigid economy in the expenditure of public money. His Majesty reminded me, that I perfectly knew how much his sentiments concurred on those topics; observing withal, that these seemed rather the objects to be pursued by an Administration when formed, than a basis to form it upon; which to be sure is true. I hope I have represented your Lordship's conversation as you wished; at least, that was an object I had much at heart.

I am, my dear Lord, with perfect regard,
Your Lordship's
Most faithful and obedient servant,
THURLOW."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

"MY DEAR LORD, GROSVENOR SQUARE, *March 15th*, 1782.

I make no doubt that your Lordship stated to his Majesty, both with clearness and justice, the material points on which I had the honour to converse with you in consequence of the intimation conveyed to me by your Lordship. The proposition of the necessity of peace, and the equally necessary proposition, that of economy, seems by your Lordship's answer, to accord with his Majesty's gracious dispositions, but I do not collect any information from your Lordship's letter relative to the other most essential point on which we conversed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROCKINGHAM."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

"MY DEAR LORD, *Friday morning, half-past three o'clock.*

On coming to town this morning I received your Lordship's letter, but that has happened so late that I have not time to answer it particularly before I must be at Lincoln's Inn Hall. To be sure it would be easier and pleasanter to explain such passages as these in conversation. But if your Lordship has any reasons for wishing to see them upon paper, I will do it so.

I have the honour to be, my dear Lord,
With great regard,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,
THURLOW."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

March 15th, 1782.

"MY DEAR LORD,

When I had represented to the King that your Lordship, in terms of the highest regard for his Majesty, had yet begged leave to decline entering with me upon the subject of any such arrangements as was wished; it seemed obvious, and so the King understood it, that there was end of all his Majesty had expected from me. I did, however, venture so far beyond that point as to mention to his Majesty your general ideas concerning peace and economy. But it occurred to me, that until his Majesty should think fit to proceed further, it would be generally useless and improper to take his pleasure upon particulars. If there be anything further, which your Lordship wishes to have explained, I shall be happy if you will allow me the honour of waiting upon you.

I have the honour to be,
With the greatest truth and regard,
Your Lordship's
Most obedient and most humble servant,
THURLOW."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

GROSVENOR SQUARE.
March 16*th* (*Friday night*, 10 *o'clock*), 1782.

"MY DEAR LORD,

When I had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter last night, it was too late an hour to send an answer, especially as the servant said he had no orders to wait. Indeed, I do not perceive that any particular answer was necessary, except that it might be incumbent upon me to return your Lordship my thanks for your obliging offer of calling upon me to explain anything that might want explanation. I should certainly be glad to see your Lordship on that or on any other occasion. Upon weighing the contents of your Lordship's former letter, to which I returned an answer, and now weighing the contents of your last, I must say that I don't find, either in the one or the other, anything is explained which will enable me to form any judgment of his Majesty's dispositions in regard to the other points which appear to me exceedingly essential. Your Lordship was so good as to mark upon paper certain heads of matter which I desired to state as primary objects, and on which I humbly hoped to have had some information of his Majesty's dispositions. I received the communication of his Majesty's pleasure with much satisfaction, through your Lordship's hands; I told you so with great truth—I thought your Lordship seemed to assent, that I could not with prudence or propriety enter into a plan of arrangement until I was first personally assured of his Majesty's confidence, and of his gracious dispositions to attend to my ideas on that subject. I must confess that I do not think it an advisable measure, first to attempt to form a Ministry by arrangement of office—afterwards to decide upon what principles or measures they are to act.

I am, &c.,

ROCKINGHAM."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

GROSVENOR SQUARE.
March 18*th* (1 *o'clock*, P.M.), 1782.

"MY DEAR LORD,

I am really at a loss to know what answer to send to your Lordship's letter; I certainly cannot have any difficulty in receiving the honour of seeing your Lordship, and *conversing with* you on *any* of the most important points which have lately been agitated between us. In consequence of what your Lordship calls your mission from his Majesty, I think *my desiring* your Lordship to state the *whole matter* upon paper would carry with it the appearance of my entertaining doubts, which I do assure you I do not. Mr. Rigby sent yesterday to desire to meet Lord John Cavendish, and, I understand, informed Lord John that he (Mr. Rigby) doubted whether your Lordship had conversed with his Majesty *on all specific points* which I had suggested as necessary. May I beg that your Lordship will adopt the measure of doing me the honour of calling here at any time this evening, which may be the least inconvenient to your Lordship; or, that you will communicate to me in writing what you may think proper and necessary on this occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROCKINGHAM."

Subsequent events prove that this first attempt at negotiation utterly failed.

The following letter is from Dr. Watson (afterwards Bishop of Llandaff) to Lord Rockingham :—

DR. WATSON TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Cambridge, *March* 19*th*, 1782.

" My good Lord,

When I wrote to your Lordship on Sunday last, I knew nothing of any negotiation being on foot between you and the Cabinet ; I have had this day some intelligence concerning it, and thank God that I need not be ashamed of the man, whom I have for many years maintained to be the honest, disinterested, and independent head of the Whig interest in this kingdom.

Your answer, as it respects the public more than yourself, is noble ; it has put you in a situation of honour with all good men, beyond whatever you can enjoy as a Minister. You will pardon, I hope, this effusion of approbation, for I had rather be devoted to Lord Rockingham, as an honest man, than attached to him as a Minister.

I am, most sincerely and affectionately,

Your Lordship's devoted servant,

R. WATSON."

I am not aware that any account has hitherto been published of the negotiation which terminated unsuccessfully on the 18th. These overtures were renewed on the 20th. The King agreed to all Lord Rockingham's propositions, with the exception of the reform in the

Household, while, on the same day that the foregoing letter was written, Lord North tendered his resignation. The King did not accept it at the time, and the first Minister transacted business the following morning at the Treasury, as if he were anticipating a long tenure of office. He went thence to attend the King's levee. On the same evening Lord Rockingham received the following note from Lord Temple.

EARL TEMPLE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

March 20th (6 *o'clock*), 1782.

"MY DEAR LORD,

You will have heard the reports circulated since I had the pleasure of seeing you, and possibly know more authentically the foundation for them: but if not, I wish to let you know that Lord North, after having been with the King for near three hours, said to several persons (from one of whom I had it) that the game is up: I am willing to hope that the cards can be dealt only into those hands where I so much wish them, from every motive of public and private regard.

I am, &c.

NUGENT TEMPLE."

In the meanwhile there was a strong muster of members in the House of Commons to hear Lord Surrey bring forward his motion. His Lordship was only waiting for Lord North, who, at length, entered in a full-dress suit, with his riband over his coat, and succeeded, after much delay and interruption, in informing the House that his Majesty had determined to change his Ministers.

"I told you," writes Walpole three days later, "that divisions would be attempted, and so it has been. Lord Rockingham's constitutional demands not proving palatable, on Thursday evening (21st) Lord Shelburne was sent for to a house in the Park, and, after a parley of three hours, declined. Next morning Lord Gower was tried, ditto. At four o'clock to day, and this is Saturday, no new step had been taken; if the white flag is not hung out this evening or to-morrow, I do not know what may happen on Monday."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO LORD SHELBURNE.

March 24th (6 *o'clock* P.M.), 1782.

"LORD ROCKINGHAM presents his compliments to Lord Shelburne, and desires to explain clearly to his Lordship that such a Cabinet should be formed as is suitable to the execution of the very important measures which Lord Rockingham had the honour of submitting to his Majesty through the Lord Chancellor.

Upon Lord Rockingham being assured that his Majesty consents to these measures, and that he shall have their consent confirmed by his Majesty himself, Lord Rockingham is willing to state to Lord Shelburne his ideas of a Cabinet likely to concur in the principle of those measures, and therefore fit for the execution of them; upon which, if Lord Shelburne agrees, Lord Rockingham will proceed to talk with Lord Shelburne on the subject of other arrangements."

Lord Rockingham, after his audience with the King, forwarded the following list of a proposed Cabinet to Lord Shelburne :—

"Lord Chancellor, ——— ; Lord President, Lord Camden ; Lord Privy Seal, Duke of Grafton ; First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Rockingham ; the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord John Cavendish ; Secretary of State, Lord Shelburne ; Secretary of State, Mr. Fox ; Master-General of the Ordnance, Duke of Richmond ; First Lord of the Admiralty, Admiral Keppel ; Commander-in-Chief, General Conway."

LORD SHELBURNE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Sunday Evening, half-past Eight.

"LORD SHELBURNE presents his compliments to Lord Rockingham. The names his Lordship has been pleased to inclose are so respectable that it is unnecessary for Lord Shelburne to give any opinions upon them. He is to see Lord Camden and the Duke of Grafton to-night, whom it will be necessary to consult so far as regards themselves, as well as in regard to the formation of the whole, and will be ready to see his Lordship here or in Grosvenor Square to-morrow morning for the purpose of considering further.

In the mean time it is necessary to consider of the adjournment tomorrow. If his Lordship thinks it may be done by motion in consequence of the step already taken by the King, it should be settled who is to make it. If not, it must be done by message."

On the 27th of March was formed Lord Rockingham's second Administration. The House of Commons met on the 8th of April for the despatch of business. All eyes were turned upon the Treasury Bench, where the Whigs, after so long an absence, appeared strangers, and excited no few comments in the House and galleries. They could scarcely have attracted more notice had they obtained office by a *coup d'état.* Wraxall has given the following graphic description of their appearance on this occasion:—"The Treasury Bench, as well as the places behind it, had been for so many years occupied by Lord North and his friends, that it became difficult to recognise them in their new seats, dispersed over the opposition benches, wrapped in great coats, or habited in frocks and boots. Mr. Ellis himself, no longer Secretary of State, appeared for the first time of his life in an undress. To contemplate the Ministers, their successors, emerged from their obscure lodgings or from Brookes's, having thrown off their buff and blue uniforms, now ornamented with the appendages of full dress, or returning from Court decorated with swords, lace, and hair-powder, excited still more astonishment." Some mirth was elicited at their expense. Lord Nugent, who had recently been robbed of some laced ruffles and other articles, was asked if he "had recovered any of them." "I can't say I have," was the reply, "but I shrewdly suspect I have seen some of my laced ruffles on the hands of the gentlemen who now occupy the Treasury Benches."

Meanwhile the Court party did not tamely acquiesce in what appeared to them an encroachment upon their proper domain. They pointed out the danger of political combinations. They affected a sudden zeal for the Constitution, and endeavoured to enlist on their side the fears and prejudices of the people. The peaceful promoters of the County petitions were compared by them to the Irish Volunteers, the Protestant Association, and the American Congress. The comparison was upon a par with Fluellen's Monmouth with Macedon; but it told with the unwary and unreflecting. The Ministers were represented as hostile to the prerogative, and branded as republicans. Their real offence was preferring to exert the powers which the Constitution gave them, to the influence they might have derived from more subserviency to the Crown. The King was described as a prisoner in their hands, and they were styled "the Regency," as if they had really superseded the royal authority. A Tory caricature of the time, entitled the "Captive Prince, or Liberty run mad,"* represents George the Third as surrounded by Shelburne, Richmond, Keppel, and Fox, who are putting fetters on his feet and ancles; and the three last are made respectively to say,—"I command the Ordnance," "I command the Fleet," "I command the Mob." The King himself took every opportunity of manifesting his aversion to his new servants, and of displaying his impatience under the weight of his ministerial chains. Lord North, who consoled himself by jokes for the loss of place, pleasantly remarked, with reference to the official announcement of the Whig Cabinet, "I was abused for lying Gazettes, but there are more lies in this one than in all mine. Yesterday his Majesty was *pleased* to appoint the Marquis of Rockingham, Mr. Charles Fox, the Duke of Richmond, &c., &c."

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* In the British Museum.

Walpole, who may be considered as the exponent at this time of the Duke of Richmond's thoughts and actions, tells Mason, on the 27th, that he should "not be surprised if the laying down the arms without any condition was a feint, an ambuscade of a very serious nature. However," he adds, "the other side is neither blinded nor off their guard. They see, too, that they have nothing to expect but every possible insincerity and treachery, even if allowed to proceed, which, I repeat, I doubt, though the principals are to kiss hands to-morrow." The following letter, which the writer evidently intended should be laid before the King, was written three days prior to Walpole's communication to Mason.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

March 24, 1782.

"THE Duke of Richmond wishes Lord Rockingham would be so good as to find out from the King, whether the service for which he has been thought of is perfectly agreeable to his Majesty; for although the Duke of Richmond has been given to understand that his Majesty consents to this amongst other arrangements, no consideration could induce him to accept of any situation in Government contrary to his Majesty's inclinations. The Duke of Richmond is the more anxious to know his Majesty's sentiments on this occasion, as he has for several years been apprehensive that a letter he had the honour of writing his Majesty when the late Lord Granby died, although meant most respectfully, must somehow or other have given offence to the King, as his Majesty has not been pleased to take any notice of that letter, and the Duke of Richmond is very desirous of being admitted to an audience, to assure his Majesty that in declining to solicit the execution of the promise Lord Holland had given him from his Majesty, of the Blues, it was from a desire, not to stand in the way of any other arrangement his Majesty might wish, and not from any disinclination to serve his Majesty in any situation his Majesty might command; and further to explain to his Majesty that the apprehension of having given some offence is the only reason why he has not presumed to offer himself in his Majesty's presence."

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO SIR CECIL WRAY.

"Dear Sir Cecil,

I received some days ago your most kind letter. Your judgment wants no information in regard to the arduous task in which I have embarked; but howsoever oppressive the business may be on me, whose health is far from good, yet my comfort is, that my line of conduct, and the principles on which that conduct has long been formed, will not, and cannot, be altered by any change of situation.

I shall be happy in an opportunity of giving you *the detail of the transactions previous to the change of Ministry. They are curious and important.* Many of the gentlemen in the House of Commons of the first weight and consequence in this country, were and have been acquainted with the line I took and the points I insisted upon. I am confident that you will approve. It will ever give me the greatest satisfaction, either in public or private life, to show the regard with which I am,

Dear Sir Cecil,

Your most obedient and obliged humble servant,

ROCKINGHAM."

The attention of Lord Rockingham was early directed to the amelioration of the state of Ireland, a task which the neglect and mismanagement of his predecessor had rendered extremely difficult. In the invasion-panic of 1779, the Irish were left very much to take care of themselves. They did so effectually, by forming, with the connivance rather than the sanction of the Government, associations of Volunteer bands, who were disciplined, clothed, and armed at their own expense. Having repelled foreign invasion, the Volunteers bethought themselves of those whom they considered domestic foes. The moment, indeed, seemed favourable for making a significant demonstration, and with arms in their hands they demanded redress of grievances of which with too much justice they complained. For upwards of two years, meetings of armed delegates had been held, addresses voted, and members instructed to procure a removal of those restrictions on their trade and manufactures which English cupidity had laid on. The Government looked on with apathy, mingled with alarm. They discerned the danger, but were afraid or incompetent to apply the remedy. In a speech on the 11th of May, 1779, Lord Rockingham stigmatised the neglect of the then Ministry. He contended that either the necessity for taking up arms should have been prevented, or that the people should have been legally entitled to bear them.

On the same evening that the Whig Ministry took their seats, Mr. Eden, the ex-Secretary for Ireland, whom the loss of place had suddenly converted into a patriot, moved the repeal of the 6th of George the First, which asserted the right of England to make laws for the sister kingdom. With some difficulty Fox parried this popular thrust, by declaring his conviction that the Duke of Portland, who was going over as Lord-Lieutenant, would, from his abilities and excellent character in private life, and, before the House adjourned, by laying before the House a message from the King on the affairs of Ireland, obtain the confidence of the people.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Saturday Evening, April, 1782.

"Dear Lord Rockingham,

A letter, which I have this moment received from the Duke of Portland, has made me very anxious indeed. I cannot help trusting you with a copy of that part of it which I wish you to know, and is as follows:—

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO EDMUND BURKE.

Dublin Castle, *April* 21*st*, 1782.

'I was certainly very well received, and there seems, in general, (where disappointment does not operate,) and particularly among those who composed the opposition, a desire, which I should almost call an eagerness, to give me credit for my intentions, but not the least inclination to recede or relax in the claims of what is considered as their rights. The whole ease of my government, and even the existence of any in my apprehension, depends upon the temper of the English Administration; if they are disposed to concede, any thing may be done, and much good certainly to this country; but if resistance or half-measures are adopted, I cannot and *will not* answer for the consequences. I came in time to prevent some evils; but the tide was too far run to do that which I should have wished: however, I am not conscious of any blame, my mind is perfectly easy; and be the event what it may, I feel nothing to reproach myself with.'"

Burke writes in continuation :—

"P.S.—May I beg that you will let me know by some means or other, whether that which he seems to think so necessary is likely to be consented to."

The Duke of Portland's letter to Burke was written five days subsequent to the celebrated speech made by Henry Grattan in the Irish House of Commons, which obtained for him a Parliamentary grant of fifty thousand pounds. In his discourse he passed in review the grievances of Ireland, and set forth a full declaration of the claims of the delegates of the Volunteers and of his countrymen in general, upon Great Britain, concluding his harangue with the significant words "Liberty, with England—but—at all events—Liberty!

THE DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

As all my letters to Lord Shelburne must necessarily come before you, and that I have written my opinion very fully and ingenuously, I have not importuned you, nor have I had much leisure to indulge such an inclination, had it occurred to me. But as you all profess a disposition to be influenced by my advice, and that I have told you how large concessions appeared to me necessary to compose the spirits of this country, and, I must now add, to restore and give energy to Government, the powers of which I must consider myself as exercising only by sufferance, but as *vested* really in the Volunteer corps, I wish to know your opinion respecting my powers of forming an Administration, and whether it is necessary to take the King's pleasure upon the alterations I shall have to propose in the law and revenue departments, where a very considerable change must be made to carry on Government with any credit or safety, before the present possessors are removed from their employments; because it will be very dangerous and disgraceful to meet Parliament on the 27th, unless I can produce them a new system of men, as well as of measures, and if I am to wait for your answers to my own, as well as the constitutional propositions which must, if favourable to this country, make the basis of the terms upon which I am to acquire the assistance of the late opposition, and without which, I must repeat, that it will be in vain to attempt the carrying on of Government: the impossibility of forming an arrangement in time for the opening of Parliament must be obvious, and therefore I beg to know how far you think I may venture; for my consciousness of the motives of my intention, and the peculiarity of the circumstances, would carry me very far, and you will easily believe that I should not have any *personal* apprehension of displeasure where I felt I was acting for the best.

I acquainted Lord Shelburne with the reasons of my having dismissed the Under-Secretary of the War Department, and with the necessity of removing two persons in the Post Office, and the arrangements I wished for there. Since that I have been better informed of the emoluments of the Comptroller's office, which one of the persons held, and have been much pressed by Mr. Ponsonby and other old and real friends to recommend Mr. Lodge Morris for that employment, and have been assured that Shaw would readily concur in such a measure. I wait, however, for that assurance from Shaw, who is an old and respectable officer, and a *protégé* of Mr. P. and Lord Bessborough: if he consents I shall be happy, but the removal must be complied with, and without loss of time, for our correspondence is so insecure that I dare not send anything confidential to the post from hence. As the act for the establishment of a national bank has received the royal assent, I must request your influence in obtaining the bye-laws of the Bank of England, which, I am apprised, ought to be entrusted to very few hands, and those only who are most confidentially consulted, but no assurance will procure this indulgence from the Bank but by your interference with the governors; and it is so material in the outset of this business here that I hope you will be of opinion to use it upon this occasion. The persuasion which prevails of your conceding all the points insisted upon in the Address, has given rise to various ideas of reform, and different schemes of assisting England with men, money, and ships. The favourite and most feasible project seems to be the establishment of a commission of accompts; it meets the ideas of those who sincerely wish reformation, and does not alarm the fears, and not so *directly* affect the feelings, of those (who, in this country, amount, at least to nineteen out of twenty) who would be unwilling to part with any chance of public plunder. I am much inclined to it myself, as forming the best and most solid ground for me to begin upon, and I trust it will be a standard to which all the Volunteers must resort, and round which we may cordially shake hands. The temper of this country must, however, in all cases and at all times, require to be conducted with great moderation, and attention, and steadiness, but with some spirit and firmness, and every other mode of introducing reform seems less unexceptionable than this, for reasons arising out of the natural, or, at least, habitual disposition of the country, which is *not quite so well* turned to economy as to liberty. Let me beg you, Lord Keppel, and our friends, to consider the question of seamen, money, and building docks at Cork, and Kinsale, and other harbours in the south. I confess, upon the last, many doubts occur to me, but I am not capable of judging, and be assured that an unbiassed man is not to be found here upon this or any other point. Information is very difficult to be obtained; and upon every subject in which either public or private interests are concerned confidence cannot be given."

The suggestions contained in the foregoing letter were complied with. On the 17th of May, Fox moved the repeal of the 6th of George the First, which with very little discussion passed unanimously through both houses of Parliament. In his speech, Fox declared it had always been his opinion out of office that it was downright tyranny to make laws for the internal government of a country who were not represented among those by whom such laws were made. "If," said Fox, in another part of his speech, "I make a proposition hurtful to the pride of Englishmen, the fault is not mine. It is the fault of those who left it in the power of the Volunteers to make the demands; who left it in their power, not by leaving arms in their hands, but by leaving them injuries and oppressions."

The concession made by the Government did not quite come up to the requirement of the Volunteers; but that it satisfied the practical statesmen is shown by Lord Charlemont's letter to Lord Rockingham, published in Hardy's life of the former of these two patriots, and by the vote of the Irish Parliament of addresses of thanks and a grant of one hundred thousand pounds for a levy of twenty thousand seamen for the Navy.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM TO THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.

May, 1782.

"DEAR DUKE OF PORTLAND,

I am rather mending in health, but by no means quite well, though I keep up my spirits very tolerably, and especially when among *my good friends*, with whom I have every satisfaction.

I am much rejoiced at the happy effects which have ensued in Ireland. I trust that the unlimited confidence which we have shown in regard to the good intentions, the zeal, loyalty, and affections of the people of Ireland, will be attended with the most beneficial consequences to both nations. The offer of twenty thousand seamen is a pleasing proof of cordial friendship. We feel in the moment the most pressing want of seamen. It is no secret that *we have now* ten ships of the line, with *scarce a man* to put in them. Time is everything, and and could we instantly man these ten ships, we might then hope to have a western squadron who would not be forced to act merely on the defensive. If we cannot get men for these ten additional ships, I fear our grand fleet will be so very low in point of numbers, that the combined fleets of France and Spain . . ." *

Another important measure of Lord Rockingham's second Administration was the introduction into Parliament of "an effectual plan of economy through all the branches of the public expenditure." As the avowed object of this measure was to circumscribe the unconstitutional power of the Crown, it was not likely to find much favour with a monarch holding the sentiments of George the Third.

Prior to bringing the matter before Parliament, Lord Rockingham wrote to the King as follows:—

"As it is possible that your Majesty may have been misinformed concerning the plan of economical reform, to which you have so graciously condescended, in order to remove any doubt which might remain on your Majesty's mind of the perfect propriety of it, you will permit me to observe to your Majesty, that not a *single* article of the expense to be retrenched touches anything whatsoever which is personal to your Majesty, or to your Majesty's royal family, or which in the least contributes to the splendour of your Court.

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* The rest is wanting.

In this plan nothing is taken away, except those places which may answer the purposes of us, or of those who hereafter may be your Majesty's Ministers, and which may serve to carry points and support interests of our own and of theirs, and not of yours.

I have many friends, and your Majesty will easily believe that at this time when you honour me with your gracious attention to my recommendation, it would be the pleasantest thing in the world to me to be the channel of your Majesty's favour to twenty or thirty places of ease and emolument for those friends. The denying myself that satisfaction has been the greatest act of self-denial of my whole life.

Besides the claims of friendship, which I hope no man feels more than I do, if I looked toward what is called strengthening political interest and connexion for myself, nothing could have contributed more to it than the recommendation to so many places. But I was seriously convinced in my conscience that I should be making myself considerable at your expense; and that instead of strengthening your Majesty's Government by keeping up those places, your Majesty's Government could not go on if they are suffered to subsist. Your Majesty's late Ministers were very apt to represent to others, and possibly to your Majesty, that these economical ideas were notions of opposition taken up to embarrass Government, and to captivate the people. But it is no such thing: I certainly wish to serve your Majesty, and not to suffer that portion of your authority, which you have done me the honour to entrust to my hands, to be enfeebled for want of a due force to carry on your Government. I should discredit myself if I had not that sacred regard which I have, and ever shall have, for the credit and reputation of the *Crown*. But I humbly beseech your Majesty to recollect the extreme weakness of the Administration of your late servants, the many defeats which their measures have met with in Parliament (to say nothing of other disasters),—more, I believe, than have happened to all other Ministers that have served the Crown for these last eighty years, if their defects were all put together. This happened notwithstanding they were possessed of all these places, and of a great deal more, to the frequent distress of your Civil List. But the fact is, these very places were the cause of the weakness of Government, because it is evident to the world, that, trusting to that influence, they did not attend as they ought to your Majesty's honour and service, so as to prevent by their diligence and foresight the disagreeable things that, without due care, will happen in Parliament, as well as those greater calamities which have happened to the nation. They have retired, after some of them have taken care of themselves, and left your Majesty in debt and distress, which it will be my business and earnest desire to relieve you from, and to preserve you from falling into the like as long as I am honoured with your Majesty's confidence.

It has been suggested to your Majesty that this may be done without going to Parliament. With great deference to the judgment of others, I hope to satisfy your Majesty that it is impracticable."

After showing that several offices proposed to be abolished come within the jurisdiction of Parliament, Lord Rockingham proceeds :—

"The effect of leaving inconsiderable parts of the arrangement out of the parliamentary plan would be to prevent the display of your Majesty's bounty to the public, to make it look diminutive, and raise doubts and suspicions on a matter which is undertaken to produce quiet and satisfaction.

If it were possible for me, and for those persons who have been the proposers and supporters of this salutary measure, to decline bringing it on in Parliamen, disgrace would deservedly fall upon us, and the business itself would still undoubtedly be brought on by the country gentlemen, and the many persons in the House of Commons, who so highly approve of the principle of the Bill.

My situation in the country, my time of life, my state of health, I hope the known character I bear, will I trust not suffer your Majesty to conceive that the idea of popularity would so far affect my judgment as to incline me to a measure which would prejudice or endanger the decent and necessary means of a well-ordered Government."

The correspondence at the beginning of 1780 proves that Lord Rockingham was, as far as he was individually concerned, not disinclined to entertain the proposition of Parliamentary Reform. His motive for not making it a Government measure was doubtless to avoid the disunion it would inevitably have occasioned. Yet it appears to have been considered as an open question. "There is to be," writes Walpole, "on the 1st of April, a Committee of the House of Commons chosen, to examine into its decays, and study a remedy, which when fixed on, the Ministers will support." *

But the Duke of Richmond was not restrained by the same motives as his leader.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND TO THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

Saturday night, May 11th, 1782.

"I DO not wonder that Lord John, who is diffident of the effect of any Parliamentary Reform, should dislike a fresh attempt to get a committee appointed now; but indeed, my dear Lord, if you think my services in the present Administration useful, you must support me in this measure. You know it was *my bargain*. I do not wish to tie you down to my plan, or to any particular measure. I only ask to have the Committee; I trust to them for the measure, and only contend for *some plan* being adopted. My credit, as well as my opinion, bind me to require this. I have no right to insist on others giving up to me; but if I am wanted

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* Walpole and Mason Correspondence, vol. ii., p. 253.

I have the best right to insist on the terms which to me appear *essential* to enable me to serve you well: and surely some little confidence is due to those whom you say are essential to you. I do not say this to you, but to those who call for assistance against the power of the Crown, and yet will not let the people have their just share, and expect men to serve them with giving up their credit. I believe no man can say with greater truth than I that he should prefer a retired life. I am daily sacrificing my health and the comforts of my life for the public, and should be happy to retire, and see things go on well in other hands than mine; but if I am to give up so much, and am really wanted, those who call upon me should first make up their minds to the terms on which alone I can serve them with credit, and choose to have me on those conditions, or not at all; for it would only ruin me, and disable me from serving them, if I could act contrary to my opinions in so essential a point as this: and those opinions clearly are, that unless some essential parliamentary reform takes place, all we do will be undone; we shall be made use of only to face a moment of extreme danger, which, if we can stem, and restore security, we shall also restore the means of reverting to the old system. I do see this so clearly, and that a parliamentary reform can alone prevent it, that I cannot be concerned in being thus duped, and in duping the nation. Therefore, if I do not see some fair prospect of such a measure as a parliamentary reform, I must retire, and the more so as I see that if we all set our shoulders to it, this is the moment when it can be carried—a moment never to be recovered. I do not mean by a hasty *conclusion* this Session, but by that *earnest*, a *committee*.

And I am very sure that a committee, doing but little, will satisfy, but that if a committee is continued to be refused, much more will be required; if, as in that case they must, the people without doors urge their claims, and demand their rights."

Whatever Lord Rockingham's intentions may have been in sanctioning the principle of Reform in Parliament, his rapidly increasing infirmities rendered it impossible for him any longer to take a leading part in the conduct of affairs. He had for some time past been afflicted with water on the chest; and to this well-known malady was superadded the then novel disease of influenza. His last appearance in the House of Lords was on the 2nd of June, when, notwithstanding his intense sufferings, he both spoke and voted in favour of the Bill for disabling Custom House Officers to vote for members of Parliament. Wraxall states that neither Fox nor Burke seem to have been prepared for his Lordship's decease. But that he was himself fully conscious of his approaching dissolution is evident from the following letter, which he directed to be written to his friend Lee:—

JOHN KING, ESQ., TO THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL.

WIMBLEDON, *June* 29*th* (6 *o'clock*), 1782.

"DEAR SIR,

I am very sorry to say that Lord Rockingham has had but an indifferent night, and that he thinks himself much worse this morning. He therefore desires me to write to you, and to beg that you would come to him as early this morning as possible—I will only add that after this matter has entered his mind he will not rest or be easy till he sees you."

On the 1st of July Lord Rockingham breathed his last.

The following affecting letter from his widow is in acknowledgment to Lord Thurlow, who had given a Chancery living to the son of his (Lord Rockingham's) friend, Mr. Croffts :—

THE MARCHIONESS OF ROCKINGHAM TO JOHN LEE, ESQ.

GROSVENOR SQUARE, *July* 12*th*, 1782.

"DEAR MR. LEE,

I am sensible that my thanks ought to be presented to the Chancellor for the handsome and obliging manner in which you told me he had complied with my request, but I really find it utterly impossible to write to his Lordship; I can just write to you, and it is as much as I can do. Be so kind as to convey my thanks to my Lord Chancellor, and tell him that I should not have reminded him of that matter of the living, but from a full persuasion that his Lordship must feel, not only a satisfaction, but a pride in fulfilling a promise to such a man as my most incomparable Lord; might I add, that the sooner the proper directions are given for the presentation of Mr. Robert Croffts to the living, the more accordant it will be to the wishes of the dear deceased, whose kindness and all beneficial acts were always prompt. Dear Mr. Lee, what a peculiar consolation I possess, that were it possible for my ideas and my feelings to fall short on this sad event, I have but to go to the general stock, for an ample supply of every exalted opinion, every tender sentiment, and every sense of the exceeding loss, as well as value of my excellent Lord.——My own unhappiness makes me but the more anxious that those I love and esteem should continue to enjoy as much happiness as this strange world can afford; accept this wish yourself, and believe me to be,

My dear Sir,
Your truly faithful and obliged servant,
M. ROCKINGHAM."

On the summit of a well-wooded acclivity, in Wentworth Park, is a mausoleum erected by the affection of the late Earl Fitzwilliam, in memory of his uncle. Under the centre of the dome stands a full length effigy of Lord Rockingham, surrounded by marble busts of the eight men who shared his public labours and private intimacy. Their names are familiar to the reader of these pages; comprising Keppel, C. J. Fox, Savile, Burke, Portland, Montagu, Lee, Cavendish. On the pedestal of the statue is an inscription by the hand of Burke, which I here subjoin, both because it has hitherto been very incorrectly given, and as containing so true a delineation of this statesman's character.

"CHARLES, MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM,

"A man worthy to be held in remembrance, because he did not live for himself. His abilities, industry, and influence, were employed without interruption to the last hour of his life, to give stability to the liberties of his country, security to its landed property, increase to its commerce, independence to its public councils, and concord to its empire. These were his ends. For the attainment of these ends, his policy consisted in sincerity, fidelity, directness, and constancy. His virtues were his arts. In opposition, he respected the principles of Government; in Administration, he provided for the liberties of the people. He employed his moments of power in realising everything which he had proposed in a popular situation—the distinguishing mark of his public conduct. Reserved in profession, sure in performance, he laid the foundation of a solid confidence.

He far exceeded all other statesmen in the art of drawing together, without the seduction of self-interest, the concurrence and co-operation of various dispositions and abilities of men, whom he assimilated to his character and associated in his labours. For it was his aim through life to convert party connection, and personal friendship (which others had rendered subservient only to temporary views and the purposes of ambition,) into a lasting depository of his principles, that their energy should not depend upon his life, nor fluctuate with the intrigues of a Court, or with the capricious fashions amongst the people; but that by securing a succession in support of his maxims, the British Constistitution might be preserved, according to its true genius, on ancient foundations, and institutions of tried utility.

The virtues of his private life, and those which he exerted in the service of the State were not in him separate principles. His private virtues, without any change in their character, expanded with the occasion into enlarged public affections. The very same tender, benevolent, feeling, liberal mind, which in the internal relations of life, conciliated the genuine love of those who see men as they are, rendered him an inflexible patriot. He was devoted to the cause of freedom, not because he was haughty and intractable, but because he was beneficent and humane.

A sober, unaffected, unpresuming piety, the basis of all sure morality, gave truth and permanence to his virtues.

He died at a fortunate time, before he could feel, by a decisive proof, that virtue like his must be nourished from its own substance only, and cannot be assured of any external support.

Let his successors, who daily behold this monument, consider that it was not built to entertain the eye, but to instruct the mind.

Let them reflect that their conduct will make it their glory or their reproach. Let them feel that similarity of manners, not proximity of blood, gives them an interest in this statue.

Remember ; resemble ; persevere."

THE END.

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